

# THE CATHOLIC MIND

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## *The Church and Peace*

*Allocution of the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, to the College of Cardinals,  
Christmas Eve, 1945.*

IN the course of the last six years, venerable brethren and beloved sons, as this eve of Our Lord's Nativity came around, we must all have felt keenly the sad contradiction between the spirit of holy joy and deep brotherly union in the service of God suggested by the beautiful Christmas season, and the lamentable spirit of vengeance and spite that prevailed throughout the world; between the sweet harmony of the "Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus" and the discordant cries of hate amid the thunder of fratricidal war; between the suffused light of Bethlehem and the sinister glare of destructive fires; between the resplendent innocence radiating from the features of the heaven-sent Child and the mark of Cain which will long remain impressed on the countenance of our century.

What a sigh of relief, then, arose from all our hearts, as we heard that the gory conflict had ended, first in Europe, then in Asia! What fervent prayers had risen, during the long years of strife, to the throne of God, imploring Him to shorten the days of affliction and stay the hands of those angels who hold the vials of God's wrath for the sins of men.

Now, by the mercy of God, the human family will begin once more to celebrate a Christmas without the terrors of war on land and sea and especially in the air any longer filling men's hearts with deadly anguish. For this turn of events let us all give humble thanks to our omnipotent Lord.

Peace on earth? True peace? No: Only the "post-war period," to use a sad but very pregnant term! How long will it take to cure the material and moral disorder, to close up so many wounds!

But yesterday men were scattering destruction, disaster, misery over vast territories; and today, when they must rebuild, men but faintly realize how much perspicacity and foresight, how much rectitude and good-will must go to the task of bringing the world back from physical and spiritual devastation and ruin to law, order and peace. So even this Christmas is still a time of expectancy, of hope and of prayer to the incarnate Son of God, that He, "The king of peace \* \* \* whose face all the earth desires to see close," (Antiphon I, First Vespers, Christmas Day) may give to the world His peace.

#### THE COMING CONSISTORY

As already announced, for the first time since God willed to raise Us, in spite of Our unworthiness, to the office of Supreme Pontiff, We shall address Ourselves, if it be God's will, to the task of creating new members of the Sacred College. In Our Christmas message last year, We referred to the grave and diverse difficulties which had, alas, prevented Us up to then from filling the many vacancies which had sadly depleted the Roman Curia.

How happy, then, shall We be to see Ourselves presently surrounded here by such a large number of Cardinals, who, for their outstanding virtue and signal merits, seemed to Us especially worthy to be raised to the sacred purple. It seems to Us that this unusual event merits some special comment on Our part.

#### NUMBER OF NEW CARDINALS

We shall note first of all that with this creation the Sacred College will be complete. You know that Our predecessor of happy memory, Sixtus V, in his constitution of the *Postquam verus* of Dec. 3, 1586, when he had observed that in ancient times the Sacred College had been too small, and in more recent times too numerous, fixed the number of Cardinals at seventy, after the example of the seventy ancients of Israel (*Exodus XIV: 1-9*) and ordained in the strictest terms that this number should not be exceeded for any motive whatsoever, even the most urgent.

Undoubtedly the Roman pontiffs who succeeded him would not be bound by this provision, if they considered it opportune to increase or

diminish the number. But there is no evidence that any of them ever departed from this law, which has had formal confirmation in Canon 231 of the Code of Canon Law. The Sacred College had its full complement of seventy Cardinals frequently enough in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but never in the nineteenth and, up to the present, never in the twentieth.

To cite but one example, let us recall that Clement XI, in the secret consistory of May 17, 1706, wanted to create as many Cardinals—i.e. twenty—as were needed to fill up the number of seventy. Moreover, when one of the newly nominated Cardinals, Gabriel Filippucci, renounced the high dignity, Clement XI in the next consistory, on June 7 of the same year, while accepting the renunciation, immediately filled the vacancy by nominating Michaelangelo Conti, who was later to be his immediate successor, Innocent XIII.

We have decided to return to that ancient custom, which, while it brings the number of Cardinals in the Sacred College up to its full complement, respects at the same time the limit set by Sixtus V. We are sorry that respect for that limit has prevented Us from including in this first creation not a few other prelates and religious, especially of the Roman Curia and clergy, who for their long service to the Holy See would also have been very worthy of the honor.

We have considered it all the more fitting not to go beyond the limit set, because there never yet has been created so large a number of Cardinals—thirty-two—in a single consistory. Up to now, the two largest creations were made under Popes Leo X and Pius VII, who each created thirty-one Cardinals in a single consistory: that is to say, Leo X created thirty-one; while Pius VII, after his return to Rome, turned his attention to the Sacred College which was much depleted by the sorrowful events of that period, and in the secret consistory of March 8, 1816, likewise created thirty-one; but he published only twenty of the nominations, reserving ten *in petto*.

#### AS TO THEIR NATIONALITY

Another characteristic of this creation will be the variety of nations to which the future Cardinals belong; for We have been anxious that the greatest possible number of races and peoples should be represented, so that this creation may portray in a living manner the universality of the Church. In this way, just as We have during the years of Our pontificate seen congregate in the Eternal City, in spite of the war—

or rather as a consequence of the war—men from every nation and from the remotest lands, so now that the World War is over We shall have the consolation—if it be God's will—of seeing grouped around Us now members of the Sacred College from the four quarters of the earth.

Rome will thus be seen in its true light as the Eternal City, the universal city, the *Caput Mundi*, the city par excellence, the city of which all are citizens, the city which is the See of the Vicar of Christ, on which the gaze of the whole Catholic world is fixed; nor will Italy, the blessed land which holds this Rome of ours in her bosom, suffer any loss of prestige: rather will she be resplendent in the eyes of all peoples as sharing in this greatness and this universality.

The Catholic Church, of which Rome is the center, is supra-national by its very nature. This has two implications, one negative and the other positive. The Church is a mother—*Sancta Mater Ecclesia*—a true mother, mother of all nations and all peoples no less than of all men individually. And precisely because a mother, she does not and cannot belong exclusively to this or that people, nor even more to one than to others but equally to all.

Since she is the mother, she cannot be a stranger anywhere; she dwells, or at least should, because of her nature, dwell among all peoples. Moreover, while the mother with her husband and children form a family, the Church, in virtue of a union incomparably more intimate, deeper and more perfect than is possible for the family, forms the mystical body of Christ. The Church is then supra-national because it is an indivisible, universal whole.

#### INDIVISIBLE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

The Church is an indivisible whole because Christ, her Head, is undivided and indivisible. Christ with His church is—in the profound words of St. Augustine—*Totus Christus*, the whole Christ. This wholeness of Christ, according to the saintly Doctor of the Church, means the indivisible unity of the head with the body in *plentitudine ecclesiae*, in the fullness of the life of the Church, which brings together all places and all periods. Firmly established on such solid foundations, the Church, placed as she is in the center of the history of the whole human race, in the agitated and turbulent atmosphere of divergent energies and conflicting tendencies, is so far from being shaken—however much she be exposed to all forms of attacks on her indivisible integrity



—that she actually diffuses from her own integral and coherent vitality ever new forces to heal and consolidate torn and divided mankind: forces of unifying Divine Grace, forces of the unifying spirit, for which all hunger, truths which are valid always and everywhere, ideals which are everywhere and always fresh.

From this it becomes clearer that a sacrilegious attack has been and is made against the *Totus Christus*, the whole Christ, while at the same time a dastardly blow has been struck against the unity of mankind, whenever an attempt has been, or is made to put the Church, like a prisoner and slave, in the service of this or that particular people, to tie her up within the narrow confines of a single nation or on the other hand to ostracize her from any nation.

Such a mutilation of the Church's integrity has entailed and entails for the peoples who are victims of it—to a degree proportionate to its duration—the lessening of their real welfare and of their full vitality—but it is not merely that the individualism of nations and states has in these last centuries striven to break up the integrity of the Church, to weaken and hinder her unifying forces, those forces which nevertheless once had an essential part to play in the unification of western Europe. A musty liberalism strove to create, without the Church or in opposition to her, a unity built on lay culture and secularized humanism. Here and there—at once the result of its destructive force and the hostile reaction to it—totalitarianism supplanted it. In a word, what was the net result after a little more than a century of those strivings without—and often against—the Church? Human liberty buried; forced organizations; a world which for brutality and barbarity, for its achievement of destruction and ruin, but above all for its tragic disunity and insecurity has never known an equal.

At a time of stress such as ours still is, the Church, in her own interest and in that of mankind, should make every endeavor to use to the best advantage her undivided and indivisible integrity. She must be now more than ever supra-national. This spirit must pervade and inspire her visible head, the Sacred College, all the activities of the Holy See, on which now more than ever there weigh grave responsibilities, not only for the present, but even more for the future. It is a question here of a spiritual factor, of having an accurate sense of the Church's supra-nationalism, and not measuring or determining it according to mathematical proportions or strictly on the basis of statistics giving the nationality of individuals.

During the long periods when, by the disposition of Divine Providence, the Italian nation, to a greater extent than the others, gave the Church her head and large numbers of collaborators in the central government of the Holy See, the Church as a whole has always kept its supra-national character intact. Indeed many factors contributed, precisely along this way, to preserve her from dangers which otherwise could easily have been more felt.

One might recall, to cite one example, the struggles for leadership of the national states of Europe and the great dynasties in past centuries. Ever since the reconciliation of church and state by the Lateran pacts, the Italian clergy as a whole, without any prejudice to natural and legitimate love of their country, have faithfully continued to support and promote the supra-national character of the Church. We hope and pray that they—and especially the younger clergy in Italy and throughout the Catholic world—may continue to do so: in any case the delicacy of the present situation calls for special care in safeguarding that supra-national character and indivisible unity of the Church.

#### UNIVERSALITY OF THE CHURCH

She is supra-national because she extends the same love to all nations and peoples; she is also supra-national, as We have already said, because nowhere is she a stranger. She lives and grows in all countries of the world, and they all contribute to her life and growth. There was a time when ecclesiastical life, in its visible manifestations, flourished especially in the countries of old Europe, from which it flowed, like a majestic river, to what could then be called the outer limits of the world; today it appears rather as a sharing of life and energy between all the members of the Mystical Body of Christ on earth.

Not a few regions in other continents have long ago outlived the phase of missionary formation in their ecclesiastical development; they are governed by their own hierarchy and give spiritual and material benefits to the Universal Church from which once they only received such benefits. Is there not revealed in this progressive enrichment of the supernatural and even natural life of mankind the true significance of the Church's supra-national character? She is not, because of this supra-national character, placed aloft as though suspended in an inaccessible and intangible isolation above the nations; for just as Christ was in the midst of men, so too His Church, in which He continues to live, is placed in the midst of the peoples.

As Christ assumed a real human nature, so too the Church takes to herself the fullness of all that is genuinely human, wherever and however she finds it, and transforms it into a source of supernatural energy.

#### CHURCH, MOTHER OF ALL

Thus ever more fully is verified in the Church of today that phenomenon which St. Augustine praised in his *City of God*: The Church, he wrote, "recruits her citizens from all nations, and in every language assembles her community of pilgrims on earth; she is not anxious about diversities in customs, laws, institutions; she does not cut off or destroy any of these, but rather preserves and observes them. Even the differences in different nations she directs to the one common end of peace on earth, as long as they do not impede the worship of the one, supreme and true God."

Like a powerful lighthouse, the Church, in her universal integrity, casts her beam of light over those dark days through which we pass. No less obscure were those in which the great doctor of Hippo saw the world which he loved so dearly begin to founder. That light was then his comfort and, as it shone out, he greeted, in a prophetic vision, the dawning of a happier day. His love for the Church—it was no other than his love for Christ—was his consolation and his happiness.

God grant that all those who today, amid the sorrows and perils of their native land, endure sufferings like those of Augustine, may, like him, find their solace and support in love of the Church, of that great universal home which according to God's promise will last to the end of time.

For Our part We desire to make that home ever more solid, ever more attractive to all, without exception. Hence we desire to leave nothing undone that may reflect outwardly the supra-national character of the Church because it is the expression of her love for Christ, whom she sees and serves in the rich variety of her members scattered throughout the whole world.

#### THE PEACE STRUCTURE

At an hour like this, in which we celebrate the birth of Him Who came to reconcile men to God and to one another, We cannot let pass the opportunity of saying a word about the peace structure which the ruling classes in the State and in politics and economics have set them-

selves to erect. With an accumulation, hitherto perhaps never achieved, of experience, good-will, political insight and organizing talent, men have begun the preliminaries to the world peace settlement.

Never perhaps from the beginning of the world have statesmen found themselves faced with a task so gigantic and complex, because of the number, gravity and difficulty of the problems to be solved, so important for its effects in extent and in depth for good or for evil, as that of now restoring order, peace and prosperity to mankind after thirty years of world war, economic crises and incalculable destitution.

Exalted, formidable is the responsibility of those who set themselves to bring such a gigantic undertaking to a successful conclusion. It is not Our intention to discuss the practical solutions that they may be able to apply to such thorny problems. We believe, however, that it belongs to Our office, in continuation of Our previous Christmas messages during the war, to indicate the fundamental moral prerequisites of a true and lasting peace; we shall reduce these to three short considerations:

#### 1. MUTUAL CONFIDENCE

The present hour calls imperiously for collaboration, good-will, reciprocal confidence in all peoples. Motives of hate, vengeance, rivalry, antagonism, unfair and dishonest competition must be kept out of political and economic debates and decisions. "Who can say," We may add, in the words of Sacred Scripture (*Proverbs*, XX: 9-10) "my heart is clean, I am pure from sin? Diverse weights and diverse measures, both are abominable before God." Anyone, then, who exacts the expiation of crime through the just punishment of criminals because of their misdeeds should take good care not to do himself what he denounces in others as misdeeds or crime. One who seeks reparations should base his claim on moral principles, respect for those inviolable natural rights which remain valid even for those who have surrendered unconditionally to the victor. One who asks for security in the future should not forget that its only true guarantee lies in one's own internal force—that is, in safeguarding the family, children, labor, in fraternal charity, the outlawing of all hate, all persecution, all unjust vexation of honest citizens, in loyal concord between State and State, between people and people.

#### 2. NO FALSE PROPAGANDA

To secure this, men must everywhere forego the artificial creation, through the power of wealth, of arbitrary censorship, onesided judg-

ments and false assertions, of a so-called public opinion which sways the ideas and will of the electorate like reeds shaken by the wind. Let due heed be paid to the true and overwhelming majority of men, made up of those who live honestly and peacefully by their own labor in their own family circle, and who desire to do the will of God. In their eyes, disputes for more advantageous frontiers and the scramble for the treasure of the earth, even if not of necessity and *a priori* unjust in themselves, are at least always a dangerous venture which cannot be entered on without the risk of causing an accumulation of death and ruins. The vast majority of good fathers and mothers of families want to protect and safeguard the future of their own children against the pretensions of every policy of brute force, against the arbitrary totalitarianism of the powerful state.

### 3. NO TOTALITARIANISM

The force of the totalitarian state. The whole surface of the globe, reddened with the bloodshed in these terrible years, cries aloud the tyranny of such a state.

The fabric of peace would rest on a tottering and ever-threatening base if an end were not put to such totalitarianism, which lowers man to the state of a mere pawn in the game of politics, a cipher in economic calculations. With a stroke of the pen it changes the frontiers of states; by a peremptory decision it deprives a people's economy—always part of its life as a nation—of its natural outlets; with ill-concealed cruelty it, too, drives millions of men, hundreds of thousands of families, in the most squalid misery, from their homes and lands, tears them out by the roots and wrenches them from a civilization and culture which they had striven for generations to develop.

It also sets arbitrary bounds to the necessity and right of migration, and to the desire to colonize. All this constitutes a policy contrary to the dignity and welfare of the human race.

And yet by divine right it is not the will or the power of fortuitous and unstable vested interests, but man in the framework of the family and of society, who by his labor is lord of the world. Consequently this totalitarianism fails by what is the only measure of progress, namely the progressive creation of ever more ample and better conditions in public life to ensure that the family can evolve as an economic, juridic, moral and religious unit.

Within the confines of each particular nation as much as in the whole

family of peoples, state totalitarianism is incompatible with a true and healthy democracy. Like a dangerous germ it infects the community of nations and renders it incapable of guaranteeing the security of individual peoples. It constitutes a continual menace of war.

The future peace structure aims at outlawing from the world every aggressive use of force, every war of aggression. Who could not greet such an intention enthusiastically, especially in its effective realization?

But if this is to be something more than a beautiful gesture, all oppression and all arbitrary action from within and without must be banned.

In the face of this accepted state of affairs, there remains but one solution: a return to God and to the order established by Him.

The more the veil is lifted from the origin and increase of those forces which brought about the war, the clearer it becomes that they were the heirs, the bearers and continuers of errors of which the essential element was the neglect, overthrow, denial and contempt of Christian thought and principles.

If, then, the root of the evil lies here, there is but one remedy: to go back to the order fixed by God also in relations between states and peoples; to go back to a real Christianity within the state and among states. And let it not be said that this is not realism in politics. Experience should have taught all that the policy guided by eternal truths and the laws of God is the most real and tangible of policies. Realistic politicians who think otherwise pile up only ruins.

#### PRISONERS OF WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

And now, lastly, Our gaze, which has wandered, if only for a moment, over the present state of the world, must pause once again on the masses, still immense, of war prisoners. As We get ready to pass in quiet, interior joy and fervent prayer the holy feast of Christmas, which reaffirms and ennobles, with century-old and undiminished harmony, the bonds of the human family, and invites to the domestic hearth, as to a sacred rite, even those who habitually live long away from it, We remember with profound sorrow all those who, although the end of the war has been proclaimed, must this year again pass the beautiful season in a foreign land and feel, on the night of rejoicing and peace, the torment of their uncertain lot and of their separation from parents, wives, children, brothers, sisters, all their dear ones.

And while We wish to pay the tribute of just recognition and praise

to those authorities and to those organizations and individuals who have striven to alleviate and to abbreviate their sorrowful condition, We cannot conceal the pain We felt when, in addition to the sufferings inevitably accruing from the war, We heard of others which were almost on purpose inflicted on prisoners and deported people; when, in some instances, We saw their captivity prolonged without reasonable cause; when the yoke of imprisonment, of itself oppressive, was aggravated by hard and unjustified labor, or when, in unconscionable disregard for standards set up by international conventions and by the still more sacred standards of Christian and civil conscience, they were refused in an inhuman way the treatment due to the vanquished.

#### A CHRISTMAS WISH

To these children, still held in prison, may our Father's message be carried on the wings of the Christmas angels. May they receive and be comforted by Our wish—shared by all who cherish the sense of man's brotherhood—to see them regularly and speedily restored to their anxious families and to their normal peace-time occupations. And We are certain that We voice the sentiments of all right-thinking men when We extend that wish to include those political prisoners, men, women and youths, at times exposed to dire sufferings, against whom no accusation of crime or violation of the law can be brought, but, at most, only their past political views.

We shall include with affectionate solicitude also those missionaries and civilians in the Far East who in consequence of recent grave events are living in affliction and danger. There is an obvious natural obligation that these unfortunate victims be treated in a humane manner. Indeed, We consider that the much-desired pacification and concord among peoples could not be better initiated than by their liberation and as far as possible by their fair, proper and equitable rehabilitation.

With such sentiments and wishes on Our lips and in Our heart, We ask our Divine Saviour to bestow on you, venerable brethren and beloved sons, and on all Our dear sons and daughters scattered over the earth, an abundance of His graces, of which the token is this Apostolic Benediction which with all Our heart We impart to you.

# The Psychology of Prejudice

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*An address delivered at Friendship House, Chicago, Ill., August 6, 1945.*

**A**N OLD PUN says that the dictionary is a book containing adventure, comedy, tragedy, humor, mystery and romance. It contains, I believe, also a meditation.

Suppose we take the word "prejudice" and spin out its meaning. Doing this will help to show us the hateful nature of the thing. It will likewise yield material potentially useful in our fight for interracial justice.

"Prejudice" Webster informs us is made up of two words—the preposition *prae* and the verb *judicare*. One means "before" and the other "to judge." It means that the intellect says "Yes, that is so" before the evidence for *that* is there to back it up. It is jumping the gun intellectually. It is making up your mind before you know what it's all about.

Prejudice is thus illogical.

Some of the obloquy inherent in the charge of illogicality is rather generally realized. Certainly no one likes to hear that he is not logical. It carries almost as much sting as to tell a person that he has no sense of humor.

Some of the opprobrium, I say, seems to be appreciated. Some, but not all. For while there is almost

spontaneous realization that to be illogical is to fall short in some way of what we are supposed to be as human persons, there is not a general appreciation of the devastation it wreaks on our humanity.

Illogicality is an intellectual defect. If there were wider realization that prejudice is a form of illogicality, there would be fewer to brag smugly about it—as some people do.

But since prejudice resides in the intellect, we want to look more closely at what it does to the mind. It means simply this, that we limit the amount of truth that enters there. It means we say: This is all that I am going to let into my intellect. This is the case, because prejudice is pre-judging—giving an assent when all the data required to justify an assent is not yet in.

To show the devastation wrought in our intellects, to show how prejudice stifles and kills the life of the mind, we must consider what it means to know.

Things are true because they have conformity to the intellect of God—because they faithfully represent what He had in His Mind when He created them.

Our intellects are said to possess



the truth when they conform in their representation to the things in God's creation. I say to myself that an object is tin and that it is not silver. If it is in reality tin, then what I say to myself is true.

Note what happens. Insofar as my mind is faithful in its representation of the outside world, it becomes conformed to the mind of God—because the outside world is itself conformed to the mind of God. Things which are like to the same thing are like to each other.

#### CORRUPTS OUR WHOLE LIFE

Our intellects were made for this purpose, namely, to know. In the rich phrase of St. Thomas, they are made to "become intentionally (i.e. in the intellect's way) all things." Our intellects are destined to become more and more like to the intellect of God.

Prejudice has the exactly contrary tendency. It stops the assimilation (the making like) of our intellects to reality. It represents in a word a refusal on the part of a human person to become like God.

But the damage doesn't stop in the intellect. To engage in this violence to the mind can have only one result, the distortion of our whole personality, the corruption of our whole life. This is bound to happen; growth begins in the intellect.

Whatever psychology we need here can be put very simply. There is an impressive amount of such informa-

tion that is packed in the answer to the catechism question: "Why did God make me?" The answer, "To know Him, to love Him, to serve Him in this life and be happy forever with Him in the next," shows the whole pattern of human life.

First always we know. Then and only then can the will make a choice; for it is a blind faculty and must depend on the intellect to present the object to it for its choice or rejection. This relationship between the intellect and the will comes to the fact that nobody wants that about which he knows absolutely nothing. Action follows the command of the will. The pattern thus is: to know, to love, to serve; mind, heart, action; intellect, will, deliberate, and hence human, act.

Now in a case of prejudice the will forces the intellect to give it an incomplete picture of what it is going to choose or reject. This can happen from several causes—perhaps through impatience, perhaps through passion, perhaps through weariness or something else. Perhaps from a disposition left over from former acts of prejudice. The thing breeds.

At any rate the will by forcing the intellect's assent cuts down its own range of activity. To the extent that the infection of prejudice affects the mind, the life-possibilities are cut down. I mean that the will has less to choose, since it has only what the intellect brings to it.

Let us apply this directly to people. For while it is true that our growth comes about also through our acceptance or rejection of things, our principal growth is through personal relationships. That is, in both a natural and a supernatural sense, we grow through love.

In person to person relationships, the same inescapable law holds true. If there is prejudice, there is a small mind; the will is awry, and the infected person is a bad actor.

If I jiggle my knowing apparatus with prejudice when I come upon a person, then I refuse to know him. I cannot have him for my friend. A lost friend is lost development for me as a human person. This is the relatively lower degree. But if the lower degree of human relationships is ruled out, so also is the highest complementing. I mean that prejudice means that the lady prejudged can never be my wife. (Let's leave my sister out of this.)

You cannot object that this is no matter, because, frankly you do not know. The person whom by prejudice you refuse even to consider may have been precisely the person to consort you best to the vision of the God of both of you.

Worse yet. It may not be (and very likely isn't), merely a case of missing out on potential personal development. Prejudice may result—and let us say it with great deliberation—in the most perverse of all hu-

man relationships, that of hate. The poor pervert is wrong in what he loves, but he does *love*. The soul of the man who hates redounds on nothing but his own emptiness.

Maritain has remarked in a brilliant page how so many things that maggots in this "corpse of Christendom," which is the modern world, for example, contraception, eugenic sterilization, euthanasia, etc., are marked by a single feature—the cessation of life. Prejudice is no exception. It begins as a cancer in the intellect. It spreads its malignancy, as we have shown, to the whole of life.

Here is something that gnaws at our spiritual vitals. And as such it constitutes our obviously primary problem in society. It is primary because it is a defect in the ultimate constituent of society—the human person.

Until it is cured, there can be no superabundant life of the Christian family. Until prejudice is removed, there can be no common living together of families in the way of democracy. So long as there is prejudice, there cannot come to be the full organization of the industries and professions into the body that society is supposed to be. There cannot even be in any true sense the right functioning of the organizations of the transition stage, such as labor unions and cooperatives.

In a word, so long as this sin per-

sists, society cannot become what the Church teaches it must. And that is a reflection of herself in the naturally social affairs of men, the analogous reduplication of the Mystical Body of Christ.



### *Protest Against Protestants*

The following paragraphs are excerpts from a letter to the *Christian Century* protesting against an editorial which demanded that President Truman break all ties with the Vatican. The author, Lt. Ralph H. Major, Jr., is with the Allied Military Government in Italy.

"It is to be hoped that no other Protestant voice will show as much ignorance of facts as the *Christian Century* demonstrated in a recent editorial condemning the diplomatic mission of the President of the United States accredited to the Holy See. To set the record right, I am an Episcopalian but because of my army work in Allied Military Government I have come to know personally Mr. Myron C. Taylor and to see the excellent work performed by his office in connection with war relief, liaison between the army and the Vatican and the handling of diplomatic affairs which could have been done only through Vatican channels.

"To those of us who have been in a position to see for ourselves the good work performed by Mr. Taylor and his mission, it is too bad that one of our Protestant journals takes the opportunity to attack Roman Catholic policies through the man who has done more to create good understanding than anyone else. Those of us who are here in Italy—and not in Chicago—hope that President Truman will see the wisdom in keeping at least a quasi-diplomatic representative accredited to the Pope."

# International Life of the Universities

H. J. PARKINSON

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**A**MONG the many internationalisms of prewar years, none is perhaps so interesting, and at the same time so little known, as the new internationalism of university youth. In the years 1919 to 1939 there was a surprising growth of student foreign travel. International student organizations were founded, grew in size and became firmly established, each organizing annual conferences, university games, student tours, debates, camps, relief funds, scholarship funds and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

Affiliated national organizations sprang up in similar abundance: Great Britain had over a score at one time, of which five are still flourishing.<sup>2</sup> Under the aegis of these organizations, national and international, a whole special literature grew up on behalf of student foreign travel—handbooks, guidebooks, year books, pamphlets, bulletins, journals, directories. And just before the war, there appeared a book (*Students in Search of Their University*) which seemed to indicate that student travelers had

begun to create a literature of their own.

Statistics given in these publications indicate that in the 1930's student travelers were becoming numerous enough to warrant comparison with the wandering scholars of the Middle Ages. In the years 1924 to 1934, C.I.E. student tours moved 60,000 students across frontiers. Congresses of the international student organizations each attracted from 300 to 1,000. Some thousands of travel scholarships were offered annually. The popular holiday courses at the universities of Europe each drew upwards of a hundred. There were over 8,000 foreign students on the roll of the French universities, over 7,000 in the U.S.A., and over 6,000 in our own country. The upward tendency was not checked unduly by periods of acute economic or political crisis, and it affected Great Britain as markedly as other countries, despite our traditional isolation from the Continent: every year the N.U.S. issued between three and four thousand student iden-

<sup>1</sup> The International Confederation of Students, C.I.E. Brussels; International Student Service, I.S.S. Geneva; World Student Christian Federation, W.S.C.F. Geneva; International Federation of University Women, London; Pax Romana, the International Confederation of University Catholic Federations, P. R. Fribourg; and the World Union of Jewish Students, London.

<sup>2</sup> The National Union of Students, N.U.S.; Student Christian Movement, S.C.M.; British Federation of University Women; University Catholic Societies' Federation of Great Britain, U.C.F.; and the Inter-University Jewish Federation.

\* 128 Sloane St., London, S.W. 1, England, April 14, 1945.

tity cards for use by British student travelers aboard.

#### CULTURAL AGREEMENTS

An interesting feature of this growth of student foreign travel is the way in which, from 1934, Governments, influenced by the American example, began to sign cultural agreements or academic treaties of fraternity, provided for mutual recognition of university degrees, etc., reciprocity of university posts, travel scholarships, and the encouragement of student foreign travel in general. Europe may claim to have invented the idea, for the very first cultural agreement was that between France and Switzerland in 1887; but America gave it robust development, returning it to Europe, as she did the cinema and the radio, grown up and full of daring. The Central-American academic treaty, signed at Guatemala on April 12, 1934, was rapidly followed in the Old World by the Poland-Hungary convention, signed in Warsaw on October 21 in the same year. But whereas in America the movement soon led to the Pan-American convention of December, 1936, which abolished all frontiers for intellectuals of the New World by a stroke of the pen, Governments in the Old World doled out their cultural favors cautiously, reserving them in the main for their friends. Totalitarian Governments made agreements with other totalitarian Governments, and demo-

cratic States with democratic; and the wanderings of students abroad were canalized to serve political ends.

Some of the federations of Catholic students sought to counteract the tendency by announcing their desire to sign among themselves their own cultural agreements, which would "not necessarily follow friendly relations of a political order." In 1936, the Catholic University Federations of Austria, Hungary and France signed such an agreement; and among the documents before the British University Catholic Federation on the eve of the war was the draft of an agreement submitted by *Fœderatio Emericana*, the National Federation of Catholic Students of Hungary. Unhappily, the movement had already been checked by the swift suppression of the Catholic Federations in Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany, where Pax Romana was singled out for special opposition. The four big German Catholic Federations perished in the Nazification of 1933-4, and the graduate association was watched till it shared the same fate in 1938. British delegates on their way to the last Pax Romana Congress in pre-Nazi Europe in 1938 were greeted at Cologne with *Schwarze Korps* placards announcing that "True to the opportunism of the Papacy, the Catholic students of Europe are off to discuss in Yugoslavia ways and means of cooperating with the Communists."

The habit of foreign travel was so firmly established among university students and scholars that thousands more of them readily crossed the frontiers when the restrictions were imposed on Jews and non-Aryans in the German and Italian universities. Large numbers were received in our country, where they made contacts with the British universities and transplanted their student groups. Meanwhile, student travelers continued their normal journeys across frontiers, and the Pax Romana Congress in New York in September, 1939, carried through its whole program among 300 delegates from thirty nations, including Poles and Germans, despite the outbreak of hostilities in Europe on its opening day.

Since 1939, the international university organizations, reverting to their earliest traditions, have concentrated upon the work of international student rehabilitation and relief. Three of them, the International Student Service, the Student Christian movement, and Pax Romana, have together reconstituted the joint organization of World Student Relief, which has provided thousands of educational books for student prisoners, formed prison camp "universities," negotiated facilities for examinations and prepared mimeographed study-courses, purchased foodstuffs and relieved food shortage among students, and secured permission for student refugees and internees to continue

their university studies. More recently, World Student Relief initiated a world-wide drive to collect textbooks and funds for the relief of the stricken universities of Europe, and in association with U.N.R.R.A. has sent over 500 relief workers to assist student schemes of rehabilitation in the liberated countries.

The vast improvement of modern transport and communications has provided conditions specially favorable to the advancement of the "universal element" in the world of thought; and at the same time, the shattering confusion and bewilderment of modern life has increased the hunger for universally-valid principles with which to build a new and better world. These tendencies have a strong appeal to the optimism and idealism of university youth. But owing to the weakening of the Christian tradition in the universities, the new internationalism of university youth has been produced more by the potent universalisms of the post-Christian revolutions than by any return, conscious or unconscious, to the universal validity of the Christian precept, or to the medieval traditions of the universities which once sustained the fundamental unity of our Christian culture. Of the six big international university organizations, only two can claim an avowedly Christian inspiration; and in our country, although the older universities still cling to a dualistic humanism, much of the new

internationalism is steeped in monistic philosophy and colored by leftist opinion, an attitude that has been most pronounced at the annual congresses of the National Union of Students.

#### PAX ROMANA

University Catholic youth has reacted, indeed, more slowly than might be imagined to the new internationalism. Four of the big international student organizations were already in existence before Pax Romana was founded. The first Pax Romana Congress outside Switzerland, where the organization had its headquarters, took place only in 1923; and it was not until 1926 that any serious attempt was made to assist Catholic student foreign travel between one Congress and the next. Even then, some five years passed before any effective machinery was evolved, and a further five years elapsed before there was any appreciable use of it. Reasons for this tardy reaction are not far to seek. United already as members of the Universal Church, Catholic students did not experience the need to re-knit European culture to the same extent as others. The various congregations of the Church already provided an "international" for the clergy. And for many years the aim of Pax Romana was to be protective rather than constructive—the line taken was to remind Catholic students of the grave moral and psy-

chological dangers, rather than of the opportunities, awaiting them in their travels abroad.

Later, with the growth of the university Catholic movement and especially with its development on the graduate side, a different attitude prevailed. In the late 'thirties there was a wide appreciation that contacts between the rising generation of educated Catholics of the different countries served in imponderable and unseen ways to strengthen the Christian culture of Europe in its hour of danger, confirming faith in the Universal Church. Soon the desire for continual contact between Catholic students and scholars in all countries was in this way enkindled. And at the Pax Romana Congress in New York in 1939, Catholics of the universities warmly greeted a message from Cardinal Hinsley enshrining their aspirations in the following words:

There exist, scattered throughout the world, numbers of University Catholics who need to be in contact and to find means of expressing that Catholic world-outlook which finds itself in opposition to the "After-Christian" creed. The City of God and the Godless Civilization are visibly in conflict. Yet, within the latter are thousands who acknowledge the inadequacy of their system and its powerlessness to provide either exterior peace or interior happiness. Among Catholics also are many who have become bewitched by the vast promises of the "After Christians" and may honestly be discouraged by their sense of isolation. Pax Romana

hopes to remedy this, with God's help. Certainly, the Catholic historian, doctor, psychologist, etc., need every assistance if they are to be not only true to their principles, but a creative force in our distracted world.

In one form or another, these words have found an echo in many lands during the war years. There has been a considerable growth of Pax Romana outside war-torn Europe, and especially in North and South America. From being an international organization of the European continent, Pax Romana has thus grown into a world organization.<sup>3</sup> Only this large acquisition of new strength makes possible the shouldering of the heavy burden of restoration and reconstruction, necessitated by the suppression of so many strong Catholic student and graduate organizations in Europe, and the heart-rending destruction of Catholic universities on the Continent.

After the last war, the international *rapprochement* of youth was overshadowed by the official International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. That

committee, set up by the League in 1922, first envisaged its function as being to advise on League problems, but from 1930 it began to foster student foreign travel, interesting itself in the popularization of the idea of international society, and, following the direction given it by the League in 1935, in propaganda for the League of Nations. In the sphere of civilization, as opposed to that of culture, it had some success; and it insisted with effect that science should serve truth and not the State. Now that the war has ended in victory, the deeper conflict which led to it and which gives it meaning will go on to the greater decision. We may recall the question asked by the Holy Father last September: "Who are to be the architects of the New World—who are the thinkers who will give it final shape?" In the answer to that question the ideas of university youth will constitute a factor of importance: and it is one in which Catholics of the universities, united in Pax Romana, have a contribution to make the value of which is well known to them.

<sup>3</sup> In our own country, the growth of organization on the graduate side has led to the formation of the Newman Association, and "Newmanism," already strong in America, has spread within the British Empire in India, Australia and Canada. Pax Romana has never meant so much to the university Catholic youth of the English-speaking world as it does at the present time.

### *On Imitation*

There are inferior musicians, inferior poets and inferior Christians who might have attained real success in poetry, music or the practice of Christianity if they had not mistaken mimicry for imitation.—H. J. Farrell in the *IRISH DIGEST*, September, 1940.



## What I Saw in Europe

MALCOLM W. BINGAY

*An address delivered before the Economic Club of Detroit by the Editorial Director of the Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Michigan, May 16, 1945.*

WE went to Europe at the request of General Eisenhower—18 American Editors. He had seen one of the Nazi Slave Labor prison camps, and could not believe his own eyes. So he felt that older men in the newspaper business, this group of editors, should go over there to support the reports of the war correspondents.

He wanted us to testify to the world that conditions were not exaggerated and, so I testify to you today.

There could be no exaggeration; any stories written of the Nazi atrocities must needs be understatements.

I was frankly skeptical about atrocity charges. Having lived through the first world war, I realized that too many of them had been exploded as myths and I went over in the attitude of "being from Missouri."

We found, however, that these reports were not propaganda. Rather they were inadequate in telling the full horror.

Statistics are utterly impossible.

We went into camps with men dying all around us, men mad with

starvation and the tortures they had suffered.

We flew back and forth over Europe to see a nation in ruins, a continent wrecked. Practically every leading city of Germany today is in ashes, some partially destroyed, some devastated, others utterly obliterated.

They flew us at about 500 feet over Cologne, around and around the great cathedral. The old Spire of Christ still stands against the sky; but you cannot tell a street in that city that once held a million people; just a pile of dust and twisted steel.

There are anywhere from twenty million to forty million people—and again I say that statistics mean nothing, these figures are all conjectural—somewhere between twenty million and forty million people of all nationalities, displaced, dispossessed, freed prisoners, walking along the highways of Europe today, hungry and diseased. The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse sweep over the whole continent.

All because a little group of gangsters were allowed to seize power, and a so-called civilization lacked the courage and the vision to stop them.

I have been asked to talk of the prison camps. Our first was at Buchenwald, about six miles out of Weimar, the old hunting lodge of Bismarck, in the most glorious, bountiful agricultural country I have ever driven through. At Weimar the people are well fed because of that agricultural wealth—big, buxom women, fat, happy children, well clothed—the women with silk hose.

#### HORRORS AT BUCHENWALD

Then six miles out, into Buchenwald, and there between 20,000 and 30,000 human skeletons crawled along the ground, or hung helplessly in their bunks or laid on the floors. Even as we came, they were carrying bodies out. From fifty to two hundred a day died.

These prisoners were not prisoners of war. They were political prisoners. Their only crime was that they disagreed with the Nazi philosophy. They had refused to accept the totalitarianism of Hitler and his gang.

The thing that tore my heart most was the little children. There had been about a thousand of them. When we arrived, there were about six hundred from three and a half years old up to twelve. They were fairly well fed, because there was a prospect of manpowering them. But their hands were like birds' claws and their eyes were like those of frightened animals. If a G.I. Joe tried to give one of them a piece of

chocolate, they would snarl and run away. The Red Cross nurses tried to take them in their arms. They would scream in terror—children frightened by mere acts of kindness. If they had beaten them or kicked them, they would have taken it as a matter of course, and would not have been afraid.

At Buchenwald we looked for one of the gas chambers which we had heard so much about, and which I frankly doubted when reading of Lublin. There was none there, but they had a strangulation room. When a man was too sick, too starved, too broken to work any longer, he was strangled to death, or hit over the head with a club. His body was thrown into these great crematories. No religious ceremony, no identification.

All over the camps of Europe they had the technique of even pulling the gold out of their teeth before they were cremated.

These victims were scientists, college professors, doctors, lawyers, editors, priests, clergymen. They were not just the mere ordinary people of Germany. They were the men with the courage and the vision to defy the totalitarians.

When we got there, we found a pile of their bodies, oh, maybe two hundred or three hundred; piled up like cordwood. The S. S. guards had not had time to cremate them before the Yanks arrived.

Here they had a hospital, set aside for vivisection on living human beings.

The Elite Guard Commandant of the camp had a prostitute wife who was clever in handicraft. They would bring these new prisoners in from all over Europe. They would watch, and if they had unusual tattoo marks, the skin would be cut off and given to her to be tanned, while the victim still lived; or, if he struggled, they killed him and then worked more effectively. Out of this skin lampshades and novelties were made.

The average death rate by starvation, by disease and by extermination, was six thousand a month.

These poor creatures slept in bunks three and four tiers high; in bunks that might have comfortably fitted three, or possibly four men. There would be eight and ten piled on top of each other. In the morning when the roll call came, part of their job was to drag out of these bunks their companions who had died through the night.

The hospital was just a vast series of rooms without beds. The dying were laid in rows on the bare floors. As one died, the guards would hit him on the head and drag him out.

The crematories took care of some four hundred bodies every ten hours. They worked night and day. Then they ran short of coal. The Army Intelligence has records of the complaints of the S. S. Commandants on

the inefficiency of the Nazi Government, because they had not supplied sufficient crematories, and most certainly had not supplied sufficient coal to burn all those bodies.

To solve the problem they gathered together in one heap something like two thousand dead. Prisoners were taken out into the countryside and made to dig great holes in the ground. These bodies were just dumped in, in a heap. The camp officials knew the Americans were advancing. They wanted to destroy all evidence.

Himmler had given absolute orders that no prisoner in any of these political prison camps was to be left alive to be turned over to the American Command; they were all to be killed. The Yanks moved so fast that they could not carry out his orders.

Four thousand of these people were packed into box cars, some of them open, some of them closed, in mid-winter, with no clothing except their prison uniforms, lighter than our summer pajamas, made of cotton. It took several weeks for this horrible cargo of humanity, in freezing weather, to go from Buchenwald, near Weimar, to the murder factory of Dachau, about eighteen miles out of Munich.

So they flew us to Dachau, three days behind the tactical army.

Again, figures are impossible. They estimated somewhere between forty thousand and fifty thousand prisoners

at Dachau. Again you got a sense of pastoral loveliness, driving through those wonderful Bavarian farms.

G.I. Joe, driving our jeep, as we came into Dachau along a railroad track, cried out: "God! There is a human body in that ditch!"

We drove along, and he yelled again: "There are four or five more!" Naked bodies scattered along the tracks.

#### HELL ON EARTH

Then as we drew nearer to Dachau, we began to understand. All along the railroad siding were these bodies, indescribable bodies. They had ceased to look human: skeletons with nothing but a covering of skin.

At the railroad station itself we saw the boxcars, between thirty or forty of them. Dead bodies were still piled in them. Of that four thousand that had been shipped from Buchenwald to escape from the Yank advance, somewhere between fifteen hundred and two thousand had died in transit.

G.I. Joe and the American Army nurses, digging down among those piles of corpses, found men still living. Those who still could breathe were rushed into a specially organized hospital inside of Dachau.

Here was the glory of the American nurses. With typhus everywhere, disease everywhere, to see them cleaning out this filth and making decent

the death of these poor victims of the Nazi terror.

When the American troops broke into this camp and saw the conditions, G.I. Joe forgot all military protocol. First they shot the great wolfhounds the Nazis had at night to guard the prisoners. If any man escaped, he was torn to pieces by these dogs.

G.I. Joe shot those dogs. The S.S. Guards had camouflaged uniforms on, so they were very readily picked out. They, too, were shot without questions being asked. Soldiers broke the electric current in the barbed wire fences, and let the prisoners loose. Not outside the gates of hell was there ever such a sight.

Scattered all around that railroad yard, all over the camp itself when we got there, were these bodies of prisoners, and S.S. Elite Guards, twisted into horrible shapes as death came to them from American bullets and from the clubs and the sticks of the persecuted that they had tortured for years.

The gas chamber which I had read about and heard about, as I have said, was not at Buchenwald. At Dachau we found one. It was nothing that was just thrown together for temporary use. That, to me, is one of the most hideous facts in the investigation.

It was a solidly built building. The cornerstone was cut to the year 1937; a great, brick structure; and

over the top of it the words "Brause Bad," Shower Bath. Prisoners were told that they were to be taken to the bath. They had the idea that a bath, a shower, meant that they were to be liberated. They were given a little piece of soap and rag for a towel. They were put through these doors from which no man ever returned alive. The lobby looked very much like an American bath house with a mosaic floor and wicker furniture. At the center was a big desk, and there were flowers on it—faded flowers.

These victims, fifty at a time, were told to strip. They were ushered into what they thought were showers. There were what looked like shower sprays, but no water ever came out. When they were all under these "showers," the great iron door clanged shut. A heavy glass-covered peephole was there for the guards to watch. The gas was turned on. All were dead within three or four minutes. Then great ventilators were turned on to cleanse the air of the poison, and other prisoners were moved in. The bodies were dragged to the crematories. It is estimated that these crematories burned as high as a thousand bodies a day.

All here, too, were political prisoners—no war prisoners.

We found here around three thousand Roman Catholic priests. They were segregated. Pastor Nie-moeller, the great Lutheran who had

challenged Hitler from the beginning, had been there three weeks before the Yanks arrived. They had rushed him out, but the priests were still there. They used these priests, as they did the rest, for slave labor. They had to work in the fields or the factories. But they also used these priests for experimental purposes in medicine.

I talked to Father Peter Van Gestel, a Dutch Jesuit, who had been thrown into this prison in September of 1941. His only crime was getting up in his pulpit and urging his people not to become contaminated by the atheistic doctrines of the Nazis, to have faith in God, and to believe in their individual souls. That was all he had ever done.

I spent an hour with him. He had the most saintly face, the gentlest voice, I have ever encountered. There was no bitterness in him.

I said to him: "Father, how in God's name could you have stood this for four years?"

He said: "I had faith in God, I was sustained in my belief that the Master ordained that I should be here that I might help the suffering and soothe the dying."

They took these men of God and inoculated them with malaria to experiment on various cures that they thought they had. Of the two hundred, thirty-seven died. Three hundred more were inoculated with phlegmon—bringing on hideous ul-

cers and sores all over the body, a disease of malnutrition.

Three or four hundred more of those priests were given water treatments. They were submerged under various temperatures to see how long they could live under certain conditions, were given various chemicals, and then submerged again. They were given salt water at sea temperature, and then colder. All this, to determine how long Nazi flyers, if they fell in the ocean, could live in it.

Dachau was the training quarters, the barracks of the S.S. Elite Guard. Here they hardened recruits by having them practice tortures on their victims.

They would hang a prisoner up by his thumbs, just high enough off the ground so that the dogs would have to jump at his writhing body.

The prisoners were forced to watch all these tortures as a warning to them.

There were camps like this for women, which we did not see. But other correspondents had seen them and the American Intelligence had photographs of them, where 10, 20 and 30 thousand women were given even worse treatment. Strangely enough, they tell me that the women guards and the women commandants of those camps were even more brutal to their own sex than the men were to the men.

At Dachau they furnished agricultural laborers and put men to work

in the factories. Those who wanted them were supplied with prostitutes. Thousands of women — mothers, wives, young girls — were dragged from their homes in Russia, in Poland and the other nations of Europe, dragged there for prostitution. When they became too sick, too hungry, too starved and too diseased to be further used for that purpose, they were released from their agonies by the gas chambers.

#### VILLAGE OF ORADOUR

On one of our tours we went through Rheims. We saw the ancient Cathedral—again the facade blown to pieces. That night in Paris I said to Captain David Rockefeller, who had been at Rheims, "I suppose," I said, "your father will have to rebuild it again." He said: "I do not know what the Foundation will do about that, but I know one spot in Europe they will never rebuild."

I said, "And what is that?"

He said, "That is the Village of Oradour."

Now, this little village of some four hundred people was in the southern agricultural area of France. There was no military reason for taking that town. The Nazis moved in. They were not brutal, not even rough to these villagers. The French merely shrugged their shoulders, and said as they always do, "Another war." They are used to it.

But about four o'clock in the after-

noon an order cracked forth. All the men in that village were taken to one side of the town, and all the women and children to another. Every man was machine gunned to death. Then all the women and children were piled into the village church. This had been soaked with gasoline. They set fire to it. As the flames roared, the machine guns poured in upon them through the open doors. Only eight people escaped.

One poor woman, with a three-months-old baby in her arms, climbed a ladder to the upper window of the church, and held the poor little thing out to give it a last breath of air. They shot the mother. The baby dropped to the ground. A Nazi soldier took it by its feet and dashed its brains out against the church.

And the Nazi explanation of that was quite logical—to them.

"Very sorry!" They had made a mistake! It was the wrong town! It was another village that had been causing trouble, and to teach the French a lesson, they had orders to destroy that town. But the orders had been confused.

So the farm people of the area ask that nothing be built there. They with their own hands are going to build a great wall of stone around the ruin, and leave it there for all eternity as a symbol of man's inhumanity to man.

These are just incidents, high-

lights. As I came out of Iceland across the ocean, on our way home, I began thinking of this nightmare, this ten years' reign of Nazi terror.

At Munich we had found the key to how it all started, how a little gang of criminals were able to dominate eighty million people and almost conquer the world with their doctrine of hate.

The entire philosophy of Nazism can be sized up in just three words—"No moral law."

If you set aside the moral law, then you can understand everything that has happened in Europe.

Let us go back to the prisons for political prisoners. The sight of them still haunts me at night.

All over Germany these camps—and we have checked and rechecked—followed a given pattern. It was no happenstance, no accident; it cannot be said that some sadistic madman plotted this thing in one sector and it was not so in others.

The political prison camps varied little in any part of Germany. All of them had gas chambers or strangulation rooms. All of them had crematories.

The thing that started this coldly calculated mass murder system was revealed to us on that last horrible day in Munich.

Here we stood in the ruins in the beer hall where the Nazi party was born.

In this saloon there gathered back

in 1921, little groups of police court characters, petty thieves, racketeers, pervers, the scum of Munich. They were held together under the hypnotic genius of Adolph Hitler. From there they launched their campaign of hate which almost conquered the world.

#### HATE AND BIGOTRY IN U. S.

The whole Nazi movement is a combination of three elements, three forces, that we all are vividly aware of in the United States. By mentioning them we can understand what happened in Germany.

First, you find in the Nazi Movement the hate and the bigotry which dominates our Ku Klux Klan.

Second, the gangster technique of Al Capone's, which made him master of Chicago.

And third, you find a political, rabble rousing genius, such as Huey Long.

Those three factors went to make up this Nazi terror. They began under the evil genius of Hitler by first bringing about a nationwide wave of Anti-Semitism.

By the horrible power of Hitler, they were able to convince all too many Germans that the Jews were to blame for everything that ever happened that was wrong in Germany.

The Jews were the first victims of these gas chambers. Then the in-

dustrialist, Hermann Goering, saw a manpower waste there.

First, it was agreed, make them slave labor. Take all their property away from them, confiscate everything they have, and make them slaves and after that, when too sick and too starved to work, then, kill them!

That set the pattern. After the Jews, there came every other person in Germany—man or woman or child—who did not conform to the orders from Hitler and his gang. And so I say that the finest culture of Germany, the best scholars, the great, courageous lovers of liberty, the scientists, the real character of Germany, followed the Jews.

We could not find one Jew in all Germany. At least somewhere between five and six million have been slaughtered. How many others, there is no way of estimating. Every man who opposed Hitler, went to the torture, to slave labor and to death—except those who were saved by the advancing armies of freedom.

This pattern followed through as the Nazis conquered other countries. Every man who in any way opposed the Nazi regime, was dragged into Germany to supply this slave labor.

It is estimated by Army Intelligence that somewhere around fifteen million of these conquered people were sent to these labor camps. . . .

Are the German people to blame? Are they guilty? Yes! Just in the



same sense that we are guilty, we of America, for tolerating such men as Huey Long and the Frank Hagues and the political bosses, failing to live up to our responsibility as citizens of a free democracy. The rabble-rouser Hitler and his alter ego Goebbels, I can see them, too, nascently, in America, and I am not unaware of the fact that some of these rabble rousers have been financed by American business.

Big business, big financiers, the Monarchical Party, the Junker Party, the military caste, financed Hitler, saying, "He is a fool and we can handle him."

Their ashes mingle now in the soil of Germany with the martyrs who refused to accept the philosophy of hate.

I can see in America, along with big business also, the union racketeer, using the same technique by which the Nazis rose to power, the gangsters' ultimatum—"or else."

We talked to scholars, we talked to industrial leaders, we talked to scientists, we talked to the little people of Germany, and always it was the same story: "No, we didn't believe in the Nazi principles, but we had to join up—or else." They were afraid!

A neighbor would say something, and he would disappear through the night. They never knew where he went. This reign of terror kept growing. Frequently they would let prison-

ers escape from camps to go back and tell people what was happening to them—as a warning.

The businessman said: "I would have lost everything I had if I had not gone along."

You can no more find a Nazi in Germany than you can find a respectable American who will ever admit having been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Those Germans who confess they were members of the party insist they "had to—or else."

The pages of history are made bright by the names of men and women who have died, gladly, as martyrs to ideals and principles rather than surrender their convictions. But there are now no Nazi martyrs because there never were any principles or ideals.

Always the "or else" as their only excuse for membership.

And so in America, I have heard big businessmen say: "You have got to play ball with them."

I have heard big businessmen and little businessmen justify paying money to union racketeers because it was the only way, they said, they could keep in business. So, too, they had paid politicians and corrupted each other.

Graft, bribery, extortion, intimidation—all under the jungle law of "or else."

All over America you can find that "or else" spirit in a people too tired to live up to their responsibility as

citizens, people too timid and fearful that something might happen. They might lose their money, they might lose their social position, they might lose their political opportunity. The same spirit that I find in my beloved America, I found in the hell that was once a great and prosperous Germany.

#### MORAL LAW OUR SALVATION

And so I say to you in closing, anyone among us who has hate in his heart for his fellow mortal, to the extent of that hate he has accepted the philosophy of Nazism.

Any man who is afraid to speak his mind; any man who is afraid to declare himself an American citizen, standing on the fundamental principles that gave this nation its birth; any man who for cowardice or for mere gain, or prestige of position, who will prostitute his faith, he, too, at heart is a Nazi.

If he lets his poison of blind hate, this poison of selfish ambition, this fear of the future, this insane desire for security and comfort master him, he, too, marches down, down and down, the road to serfdom—down to the hell of Nazism.

Huey Long was once asked whether Fascism would ever take hold in America, and he said: "Yes, but they will call it anti-Fascism."

So, we of America today let's look

into our own hearts and our own souls. If we have hate for a man because he is a Jew or a Catholic or a Protestant or whatever his religion; because he is a Republican or a Democrat, a radical or a conservative, if we have hate for any man for any reason, we are opening the doors to what has happened in Europe.

If we lack the courage to speak our minds and stand on our feet and to be an American, we are bending our necks to the yoke.

The whole world is beset with the philosophy of the hate made manifest by Hitler. Until the human race can recapture the age-old message of Isaiah and of Christ, can bring back a faith and trust in the goodness of people; until we have recaptured that, this civilization of ours is crumbling. And it was crumbling, or else no such gang as began at Munich in 1921 could have pushed it over. That is our indictment.

There must come to America a restoration of our faith, the courage of our fathers, the age-old lessons of the Sermon on the Mount and of Calvary. Until that time we are in danger. The guilt of Germany shall be our guilt. The Moral Law alone can save us. That is what the Nazis first threw away to launch their crime of the ages.

# Semantic Corruption

WILL HERBERG

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*The meaning of words no longer bore the same relation to things but was changed by them as they pleased.—Thucydides.*

AN observer of contemporary world events must frequently be overwhelmed by a bewildering sense of unreality. Totalitarian dictatorships are hailed as great democracies while lifelong democrats are denounced as Fascists. Discredited or obscure politicians are rebaptized overnight into democratic leaders and imposed as puppet regimes upon helpless peoples as a sign of their liberation. Peace-loving nations carve huge empires for themselves as the legitimate fruit of war and conquests. Liberals applaud repressions and clamor for a policy of extermination. Words are apparently no indication of the things to which they are made to refer.

Now of course words have always been used to deceive. Certainly in politics the Machiavellian manipulation of words has ever been an important instrumentality of power. But what we witness today is something more than this, something really new. The same spirit that has created the

vast totalitarian party-state and has raised mass propaganda to the point of veritable thought-control, has engendered a new and characteristic semantic phenomenon that is both an ideological tendency of the times and a well-considered strategy of politics.

This phenomenon might be called *semantic corruption* or the *degradation of the word*, to borrow an expression employed by Sidney Hook in a somewhat similar connection.<sup>1</sup> It is not merely the occasional misuse or distortion of words. *It is the planned falsification of the medium of communication and thought.* Words are systematically shifted in meaning but held to their emotional suggestiveness and connotations, thus making it possible to pass off ideas, institutions and practises as their very opposite simply by using the same terms to cover both. As an ideological tendency, it is a process of steady defacement—and debasement—of the verbal currency; as a strategy, it is a technique of systematic derangement and confusion.

Before proceeding to examine the background and sources of this phenomenon, let us look into some of its more obvious manifestations in

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Hook, "The Degradation of the Word," *New Leader*, January 27, 1945.

\* 11 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y., July-August, 1945.

present-day politics. I shall list a few key words of the current political vocabulary and see what the process of semantic corruption has done to them.

#### POLITICAL VOCABULARY

1. *Democracy*: The United States and Great Britain are democracies—but so, we are told, is Soviet Russia, despite the fact that its authoritarian political institutions are at every point the very antithesis of democracy as understood in Britain and America. (Hitler, too, not so long ago, boasted proudly that his regime was the most truly democratic in the world.) By the same token, all political institutions and movements established by Russia in its area of occupation are labeled “democratic” (“National Democratic Front,” etc.) although the regimes of which they are part are in fact police dictatorships on the Russian model.

2. *Liberalism*: Liberalism has always meant the championship of tolerance and freedom in economic, political and intellectual life. But the most widely recognized liberals of today are out-and-out apologists for Russian totalitarianism, eager advocates of government control in every sphere, arrogant zealots intolerant of disagreement and ever ready to brand differing opinions as “reactionary” and attribute them to the worst of

motives. One of our leading liberal publicists not long ago put forward a scheme for governmental censorship of “anti-social propaganda” by a board able to “recognize the spurious and dishonest” and empowered in the last resort to ban “material that is poisonous and spurious.” When a program such as this can be advanced in the name of liberalism, the inversion of the term into its opposite is surely obvious.

3. *Freedom of the Press*: For centuries, freedom of the press has meant freedom from government censorship, interference or control. Now we are assured that this freedom really means the monopoly of the press by the government, as in Soviet Russia. A very similar conception was a favorite with Goebbels in his day.

4. *Anti-Fascism*: This would seem to be a term incapable of serious misunderstanding. Yet such a personage as Molotov, who less than six years ago declared Fascism to be a “matter of taste” and vehemently denounced the attempt to raise a crusade against it, is today hailed as a great anti-Fascist leader and every shady adventurer or cunning politician, no matter how foul his record, is certified as a true-blue anti-Fascist and genuine democrat the moment he is ready to “cooperate” with Soviet Russia.<sup>2</sup> But Alter and Ehrlich are executed as “Fascists” and hundreds of other

<sup>2</sup> See Leon Dennen, “Guide Through Balkan Chaos,” *New Leader*, December 16 and 30, 1944, and the factual summary in *Common Sense*, July, 1945.

authentic European Socialists and democrats, who throughout the hardest years led the underground fight against the Nazis, are systematically smeared in the same manner.

5. *Liberation*: The standard term for the ousting of the Nazis from occupied Europe is liberation, which of course implies freedom. Yet it is a notorious fact that in the Russian zone "liberation" has actually meant the replacement of one ruthless dictatorship by another. "The only difference between the German and the Russian occupation," Juliu Maniu, Rumanian Peasant Party leader, told Leigh White,<sup>3</sup> "is that when the Germans were here we had a Rumanian dictator. Now, instead of Antonescu, we have Vyshinsky." And the name for this is "liberation."

6. *Peace-Loving Nations*: This term serves in current usage to designate the group of powers that have emerged victorious from the most gigantic war in history. It is applied preeminently to a state where militarism is exalted to the highest pitch in national life, a state which opened the war with an unprovoked assault on Poland and Finland and is now closing it by attempting to grab half of Europe. Naturally by such standards Switzerland cannot be and is not admitted as a peace-loving nation.

7. *Unity*: The slogan of unity has always been a potent instrument in the Communist and Nazi strategy of

power. It is therefore natural that every regime set up by Russia in its sphere of control, even though it may in fact be only a small minority clique maintained in power by armed force, should assume the title of "unity regime"—for example, the new Polish "Government of National Unity," Lublin's latest mask.

8. *Labor Movement*: If the term labor or trade union movement means anything at all, it means an autonomous organized movement of workers to defend their interests against the employers and, where necessary, against the state. Yet the Russian workers' organizations not only call themselves trade unions but are widely accepted as such, even in Western labor circles, although they are in fact nothing but state institutions for the control of labor, very much as was the Nazi Labor Front in Germany. Since in Russia the government is the sole employer, these state-controlled "trade unions" really constitute a vast national "company union" in the American sense. Exactly the same of course holds for the controlled workers groups of the Russian-dominated regions of Europe and Asia. Yet all find hospitable coverage under the one term "labor movement."

9. *Socialism*: This term, which came into being to designate the economic emancipation of labor, is now used almost universally to describe the system of bureaucratic state economy

<sup>3</sup> Leigh White, "The Soviet's Iron Fist in Rumania," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 23, 1945.

that in Russia today—as in somewhat different form it did in Germany until yesterday—holds the great mass of the working people in a condition of economic serfdom, if not of outright slavery (forced labor). “We need more of the economic democracy of Soviet Russia,” a distinguished liberal leader told us a short time ago, referring to an industrial regime where absentees are sent to prison and striking is punishable with death.

Enough has been presented to indicate how far this process of the corruption of words has already gone. In its general and systematic form, it is essentially a post-World War I phenomenon. The first world war ushered in a period of economic change, political violence, social disorganization and spiritual demoralization. The rapid decay of liberal-democratic values, the upsurge of authoritarian regimes, the general brutalization of life after almost two centuries of steady humanitarian advance, are all manifestations of a period that may yet go down in history as the “new dark ages.” With the established values of civilization brazenly repudiated over a large part of the world, and cynicism, hopelessness and confusion pervading the rest, how could the standards of thought and communication possibly remain unimpaired? Thucydides, in the passage the opening sentence of which I use as the epigraph of this article, points out how, in the general demoralization

and disintegration of the Peloponnesian War, which possessed the features both of an international and a civil war in our sense, words lost their usual relation to things and began to be manipulated with a kind of hysterical logic to mean something very different from what they had been accustomed to signify.<sup>4</sup> His illustrations are taken almost entirely from the realm of private and social life but the wider political implications are clear and they constitute a striking analogy to the phenomenon I am trying to describe.

#### TOTALITARIAN TECHNIQUES

Totalitarianism, itself the product of the decay of the postwar world, was quick to exploit the demoralization of society for its own ends. Nowhere did it set to work with greater deliberation and nowhere has it scored more substantial success than in the corruption of words. For the corruption of words is a vital necessity to the very existence of totalitarianism.

Totalitarianism is the ultimate form of the authoritarian mass-state. As distinguished from the old familiar type of despotism, it demands not passivity on the part of the masses but incessant activity initiated, controlled and directed by the state. In both its Fascist and Communist forms, it arises as a plebeian mass movement which, upon the seizure of power, it converts into a vast organizational

<sup>4</sup> *Peloponnesian War*, III, 82.

machinery of propaganda and control. The very heart of its propaganda is pseudo-radical demagoguery—the skillful utilization of the discontents, yearnings and illusions of the masses for the purpose of strengthening their emotional attachment to the regime. Totalitarian pseudo-radicalism turns to good account the technique of semantic corruption, the systematic falsification of the meanings of words. That is why no totalitarian regime can remain content with mere censorship, no matter how rigid, but must resort to every means of popular communication to reach and control the minds of the masses. Sidney Hook explains the eagerness of modern dictators to promote literacy among their subjects by the fact that under totalitarian conditions “literacy is one of the most effective weapons for the mental enslavement of the people . . . By imposing literacy they (the dictators) see to it that no one escapes their influence.”<sup>5</sup> Mass control through comprehensive organization and planned manipulation of words is a good half of the secret of totalitarian power. The other half is naked force.

The totalitarian techniques are, with appropriate modifications, just as useful for external aggrandizement as for internal domination. It is through these techniques adapted to local circumstances — Marxism in western Europe and Pan-Slavism in eastern—

that Soviet influence has been able to make headway among considerable sections of the wretched, angry and bewildered peoples just released from the Nazi yoke, very much as a decade ago Hitler was able to score astonishing successes wherever his racial and “national-socialist” demagoguery could find lodgement. Perhaps the most remarkable achievement of this strategy of demagogic entrapment is the development of a vast network of Communist parties which are really Russian totalitarian fifth columns but which are able to pass themselves off to the world at large and even to the bulk of their own members as bona-fide indigenous left-wing social movements.

In the democratic world, the totalitarian offensive is primarily one of ideological confusion, disorientation and “softening up,” and here the falsification of the word plays a crucial role. It affects various sections of society in varying degrees but the special victims and carriers of the disease are the liberals. Considerable numbers of them have been “totalitarianized”—that is, converted into volunteer apologists for totalitarian Russia and the totalitarian idea.<sup>6</sup> The implications of the liberal double standard are notorious. Through the operations of this convenient device, what would be brazen imperialist aggression for the United States or Great Britain be-

<sup>5</sup> *New Leader*, January 27, 1945.

<sup>6</sup> Norman Thomas, “Totalitarian Liberals,” *The Commonwealth*, January 22, 1943; and Kenneth G. Crawford, “The Double Talk of the Liberals,” *Common Sense*, May, 1945.



comes in Russia's case "primarily a security policy," what for the one would be industrial slavery is for the other economic democracy, what for the one would be the deepest black is for the other the purest white. In one and the same issue of a liberal journal there appeared recently a justification of forced labor for the Russian state as really a form of "social service" and a sharp denunciation of certain American industrialists for allegedly attempting to "enslave" the working people of this country by exerting improper pressure upon them.

Despite appearances, this kind of thing, which is by no means unusual in liberal journals, is not simply a case of deliberate double-dealing. There is sufficient margin of ambiguity in the key concepts of political thought to enable the liberal to put over his little trick without conscious intent to deceive. Democracy, for example, is a notoriously ambiguous notion. On the one hand, it means civil and political freedom, protection of human rights, the decisive participation of the "common man" in the selection and control of his rulers. But on the other hand, it may be taken to mean the mass-state, a ruthless uniformitarianism, the exaltation of the collectivity. According to the former view, the freedom of the individual is the very cornerstone of democracy; according to the latter, it is a blasphemous defiance of the deified People. It is this latter conception that totalitarian

rulers have in mind when they speak of their regimes as "true democracies" or "democracies in a higher sense," and it is this conception that provides their liberal apologists with a starting point for the semantic corruption of the concept of democracy into totalitarianism.

Analysis will reveal a similar ambiguity in the notion of socialism (or economic democracy): on the one hand, it is an institutional arrangement designed to enhance the possibilities of individual freedom for the great mass of people through "socializing" economic power; on the other, it is the concentration of all power, economic and political, in the hands of an omniscient state before whom the individual is as nothing. Here, obviously, is the point of departure for the process of verbal corruption that makes it possible to pass off totalitarian collectivism as socialism.

#### CONFUSES THOUGHT

This sort of ambiguity pervades everything Russia does, for everything Russia does is rationalized simultaneously on several levels—idealistic and realistic, socialistic and nationalistic, democratic and authoritarian—each available for use where it will prove most effective. The liberal, therefore, when he turns totalitarian, can do so without in his own mind entirely betraying his "progressive" creed. Incredible as it may seem, he can bring himself to see in the totalitarianism he



defends the logical culmination of all that is vital in democracy. It is this strange mixture of sincerity and pretense, of honest confusion and deliberate double-talk, that marks the peculiar tone of liberalism turned totalitarian.

Totalitarian liberalism is the chief agency in the systematic degradation of the word that is so effective a technique for undermining the ideological foundations of democracy. Liberals of this persuasion put the standard sophistries of totalitarian propaganda into a form accessible to the democratic mind and keep them circulating until they enter into the general vocabulary of democratic politics. Of course, the success of the propaganda is largely determined by social and political factors but be the circle affected large or small, the ultimate source of the corrupting influence is totalitarian liberalism.

The degradation of the word not only undermines the foundations of democracy by systematically vitiating

the values by which democracy lives; it also helps ease the way for the expansion of totalitarian world power. Neither Teheran nor Yalta, which in fact gave the green light to Russian ambitions in Europe, would ever have been accepted with the same satisfaction in Britain and America had not democratic public opinion in these countries been "softened up" through the systematic confusion of words.<sup>7</sup> And could the shameful betrayal of Poland have been put over without the verbal camouflage of "unity"? Semantic corruption is a valuable tool in the arsenal of "appeasement"; so it was some years ago in the case of totalitarian Germany and so it is today in the case of totalitarian Russia.

The degradation of the word is thus much more than a matter of "mere words." It reaches to the very heart of our social life. For to corrupt words is to confuse thought and to disorient action.

<sup>7</sup> "The trouble with the Yalta Declaration," writes Leigh White in the article referred to above, "is that the Soviet interpretation of such key phrases as *democratic means*, *democratic institutions* and *democratic elements* is altogether different from that of Britain and the United States."

### *Contemporary Barbarism*

The massive drive for power which constitutes totalitarianism is abolishing the limits which had been imposed by centuries of Christianity and civilization on the primitive instincts of violence and aggressiveness. But these limits are not only necessary to the preservation of individual freedom, they are no less essential to social order; and when they are destroyed, there is nothing left between the naked human soul and the forces of destruction.—*Christopher Dawson in the DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1940.*

## THE EDITORIAL MIND

### *Labor More Than a Commodity*

**I**N an editorial on a wage dispute between a labor union and a corporation, the *Detroit News* (Nov. 12) observed:

In the past, labor has been regarded as a commodity, whose going price was established by supply and demand in a more or less theoretical labor market. But in recent years of increasing unionization, labor has been trying to get away from that concept by asserting a sort of proprietary right of the worker in his job.

Catholic social teaching always has rejected the concept that labor is a "commodity" whose price is determined only by supply and demand. This is a tenet of laissez-faire, pagan, un-Christian economics.

A commodity is defined by the dictionary as "that which is useful: an article of commerce; goods, merchandise." The value of goods depends on their material components and workmanship.

Man's labor includes a human element. It is more than mechanical motion or energy which produces something useful. It differs radically from an automobile or a piece of furniture.

In his encyclical, "Reconstruction

of the Social Order," Pope Pius XI asks: "For what else is work but the application of one's forces of soul and body to these gifts of nature," that is, "the wealth and resources of nature." "Soul and body," says the Pope, enter into labor. It has a spiritual as well as a material, physical character. Hence its compensation cannot be determined by supply and demand alone.

Its value depends on its inherent character and its relation to man's nature as a social being with a right to private property, a family, etc.

These factors influence man's right to the fruits of his toil. The worker can best exercise this right through collective bargaining, a procedure based on the moral law.

The *News* seems to consider it novel that "not merely wage rates themselves but also profits are asserted to be a subject of collective bargaining."

This contention is at least implied in the social teaching of Pius XI. He says: "... unless a man apply his labor to his own property, an alliance must be formed between his toil and his neighbor's property, for each is helpless without the other. This is what Leo XIII had in mind

when he wrote: 'Capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital.' It is, therefore, entirely false to ascribe the results of their combined efforts to either party alone; and it is flagrantly unjust that either should deny the efficacy of the other and seize all the profits."—THE MICHIGAN CATHOLIC, *Detroit, Mich.*, November 22, 1945.

### *The Japanese and Ourselves*

SOME of the worst atrocities of the Japanese, it is clear, have been inspired by a desire to degrade white people in the sight of those whom they have held in subjection. The answer to this, we are told, must be made by degrading the Japanese themselves to the utmost extent, in order to "restore our prestige" in the sight of the rest of the East. It is the old impasse of the vendetta — the chain of blow and counter-blow, which continues without end.

"*The cure for revolution*," said Joseph de Maistre, "*is not counter-revolution—but the opposite of the revolution.*" If you want to dispel hate, you may punish the hater's crimes, but it is fatal to return his hate—for the only constructive answer to hate is *love*, as Christ has taught and proved by His own sacrifice. The only way to put an end to savage reprisals such as we have seen for our "color bar" and contempt for

Eastern races is to change our own superior tone towards them, and deal with them on the basis of the essential human equality in which we profess to believe. And if we wish to create an impression on the Japanese which may alter their pagan standards of human conduct, we must show them not only that we are stronger, but also that the moral standards by which our society actually lives are superior to their own, and that it is these things, and not mere power and technical progress, which are the vital matters in Western civilization.

Hitherto, the message of the modern West to Japan and to the whole East has been precisely the opposite—that to be respected, and received as the same as ourselves, the Oriental must adopt Western dress, secularist, political, educational and social machinery, and scientific industrial methods: the rest was of no importance. We now find that the pagan heart and mind, added to these things, have created a dangerous monstrosity of savage power and ruthlessness—and we proclaim that we have been deceived: that the Japanese are neither Western nor human. Actually, it is we who have deceived both ourselves and them, by failing to keep our hold on the truth that what matters about a civilization is not its gadgets, but its spiritual values. And we now propose to punish them savagely for not learning a lesson which the West has made no real attempt

to teach them since the seventeenth century—because they are still unregenerate, cruel pagans who care nothing for humanity, in spite of having top-hats and parliaments and a big export trade and modern weapons and literacy.—*THE ADVOCATE, Melbourne, Australia, Sept. 12, 1945.*

### *Family Social Work*

MODERN family welfare work endeavors to provide opportunity and incentive to an individual's growth in relation to the family and to the community. The opportunity presented must be of such a type and of such an appeal that it will stimulate incentive to effective development.

There have been three stages of development in modern family welfare work. The first is the stage of relief, where the giving out of a dole of money seemed to fulfil the service of social need. Social agencies were invariably simply relief-giving bodies. They came into the family life when poverty and need were present. There was no general effort to search out the root of the problem and attack it before evil budded.

The next period of family welfare development went further and devised ways and means of prevention. The policy was developed of endeavoring to attack social problems at their source. For example, the problem of

poverty was studied in the light of an allied problem which fostered its growth, such as unemployment, sickness, desertion, and family discord. In the field of health, especially, was a very definite program of prevention introduced to the extent of legislation to enforce this policy. Hence, came isolation and compulsory treatment of those infected with contagious diseases.

The final stage in modern family welfare has definitely stimulated the process of constructive promotive effort. The Health Units of the City of Boston are striking examples of this. Their effort is not merely to prevent sickness but has the constructive end in view of promoting health.—*THE PILOT, Boston, Mass., June 23, 1945.*

### *The New Cardinals*

NEW YORKERS of all faiths will take warm pleasure in the naming of Archbishop Spellman to the Sacred College of Cardinals. As Archbishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York since 1939 he has inspired affection and admiration for his intellectual and spiritual qualities. He is known as a humble, democratic man. He is also a brilliant scholar. He has walked with danger courageously. As Military Vicar for the Armed Forces of the United States he was an unwearying traveler to all parts of the world. In one

journey alone he covered 46,000 miles in six months while visiting thirty-four countries. He knew the tropics and the Aleutians in these missions; he offered Mass on a battleship in Tokyo Bay.

Pope Pius XII makes the College of Cardinals a more nearly global body than it has ever been before, with the designation of thirty-two prelates from nineteen countries, and demonstrates anew the universality of the Church. For the first time all continents will be represented with Cardinals. The United States will have five: Archbishops Spellman, Mooney of Detroit, Stritch of Chicago, and Glennon of St. Louis, and Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, at present the only living United States member.

It must be observed that the breadth and scope of the new appointments take cognizance of the new world that follows the war.

North and South America, now represented by three Cardinals, will soon have fourteen. Bishop Thomas Tien will be the first Chinese to sit in the College of Cardinals. Australia, Cuba and Chile will also be represented for the first time. Newly named from Canada is Archbishop James Charles McGuigan.

The new appointments bring the Sacred College to its full membership of seventy and reduce what has been an Italian majority to a membership of 40 per cent. The young and vigorous democracies gain in representation. In the broadening of the membership in the College of Cardinals we may expect an even more forceful instrument to bring about that "collaboration, good-will and reciprocal trust among all peoples" that the Pope sees as one of the essential elements for lasting peace throughout the world.—*NEW YORK TIMES, December 25, 1945.*



### *New Deal in Industry*

The time has come to repudiate empty phrases and to attempt to organize the forces of the people on a new basis; to raise them above the distinction between employers and would-be-workers and to realize that higher unity which is a bond between those who cooperate in production, formed by their own solidarity in the duty of working together for the common good and filling together the needs of the community.—*Pope Pius XII to a Group of Christian Trade Unionists, March 11, 1945.*

## Preserving Peace on Four Fronts

*A Statement of the Postwar World Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace.*

THE use of the atomic bomb for war and of atomic energy for industrial purposes in peace has thrust nations and the world into a new period of history. The period can be worse or better according as men and nations intend to act. The startling revolution in possibilities, as yet unrealized, requires revolutions in men's minds, wills and institutions.

First and most important among these is a revolution in morals and in spirit. The practice for centuries in the social, political and economic life of nations, and in the relations among nations, has been based on a thinly veiled contempt for the general welfare and a distortion or outright denial of religious principles. The world has been swept along on a current of what Pius XII recently called "agnosticism in morals and religion" in national and international life. A strong counter-current has been flowing now for many years. It is imperative that this counter-current become dominant. Otherwise, the two world wars and the worldwide depression of the thirties will be as mere pin-pricks compared with the abysmal desolation of the future.

However, institutions are necessary to help enforce morality and

strengthen motives in these matters, even as the institution of the family is necessary to enforce morality and strengthen motives in family life.

As to international institutions one thing seems clear. It is that the San Francisco Charter, inadequate and imperfect when written, must be drastically and quickly amended and put to work now that the secret of atomic energy has been unleashed. We suggest these four imperatives:

1. Elimination of the "Veto Power," now lodged with the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

2. Legislative power to the Assembly and responsibility of the Security Council to the General Assembly so that the latter will become something like an executive committee of the Assembly of the United Nations Organization.

3. The speedy establishment and functioning of the Economic and Social Council, and a similar development and a democratic functioning of the institutions which will work with and be coordinated by the Council.

4. Compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and an effective implementation of its decisions.

Improvements in the Charter of

the United Nations Organization, however, will not be sufficient if the present crises in Europe and the Far East continue to move in what seems their present direction. There is now common talk of a western European bloc and an eastern European bloc, of a western hemisphere bloc and an Asiatic or European bloc. This is symptomatic of a drift into a world division into two blocs. This drift must be halted.

#### BETTER WILL AMONG NATIONS

In one respect, the drift centers in Russian activities in eastern and south-eastern Europe, in uncertainty regarding United States policy toward Europe, in the apparent determination of the western European nations to keep their colonies, and in an apparent determination to destroy Germany, Austria and Hungary economically as well as politically. This is the old problem of Europe magnified a hundred fold. It centers, in another respect, in the chaos of the Far East, in Russian and American activities there, and in the apparent determination to destroy Japan.

Far more determination is needed to solve these problems than has been yet shown. This firm resolve must be based upon a clearer idea of what the common good of the nations requires and upon better will among the nations, particularly between Russia and the United States. The

gradual worsening of both aspects of the situation since V-J Day is beyond question. Secretary Byrnes' proposal to include more of the United Nations in the writing of the peace whether by amendment of the Berlin agreement or otherwise is the most practical remedial suggestion to date. It is in the spirit of the proposal made by the CAIP Post-War World Committee in its report, "A Peace Agenda for the United Nations," issued three years ago.

Simultaneously, another problem must be attacked—the problem of world armaments and the horrifying danger of another race for armaments in which the United States will join. This danger is all the greater because of the devastation that can be wrought instantly upon unprepared or helpless peoples by the atomic bomb, rocket-driven from thousands of miles away or planted secretly in hidden places. Some form of international control and limitation of armaments including complete prohibition of the manufacture of atomic explosives by individual nations must be developed simultaneously with changes in the United Nations Charter and a better settlement of the peace terms. Otherwise, there will be a race of the nations for bigger, better and more atomic bombs, driven by larger and larger rockets, for more powerful airplanes and larger bombs of the older types, for poison gas and for, perhaps, still more hor-

rible examples of what modern science can do to destroy human life. Nor is there any doubt that the spirit of militarism will then spread. Peacetime conscription may even be adopted in the United States.

We forbear comment on the great good that could come to the world from harnessing these forces for world welfare. They will be used little for human well-being if there

is a race to use them for world destruction.

We suggest, therefore, the speedy formation of a special commission of the United Nations Organization on disarmament and on the control of armaments to work simultaneously with the democratic writing of the Peace and the essential reorganization of the San Francisco Charter along the lines suggested above.



### *Failure of the West*

There will not be a spiritual rebirth, said the Christian Japanese leader, Kagawa, in a recent interview, so long as people are judged by the color of their skin. It is a warning that for all the brutal imperialism of Japan, her successful assertion of the claim of equality for the Eastern races is one which we cannot afford to ignore, as regards its future effects. The prestige of the Western peoples and their civilization cannot be maintained if we continue to fix our standards of superiority in terms of color, or technical development, or political ideology. Unfortunately, all the indications are that our own sense of humanity and human dignity are declining; that we have less and less hesitation in resorting to indiscriminate ruthless violence, and an increasingly open contempt in public life for the Christian code of justice and love which is still nominally the basis of our private morals. We cannot give what we have not got—and we cannot uplift others and re-educate them in decency, while we ourselves are falling into moral chaos and barbarism and displaying our nakedness to the contempt of the world.—*The ADVOCATE, Melbourne, Australia, Sept. 12, 1945.*



## German Catholicism

DAVID KERNIT

*Reprinted from THE MONTH\**

THE outlook for German Catholicism appears to be favorable. The Catholic Church in Germany was the only organization the Nazis were unable to destroy or bring under their control. The Catholic Hierarchy was the only body that throughout the war publicly condemned the injustices of the Nazi regime and, well before Stalingrad, prophesied the downfall and doom of the Third Reich. The violent attacks directed against the Vatican and the German Hierarchy by the Russian propagandists suggest that the strong moral position of German Catholicism is recognized and feared in Moscow. The Russians realize that German Catholics are least likely of all Germans to be attracted by Communism.

Do the Western Allies for their part realize what a powerful attraction Communism may exercise over the minds of Germans already deeply impressed by the military and industrial achievements of Russia? The impact of National Socialism upon the largely paganized German middle class has been profound. The spectacular collapse of the Third Reich will not necessarily have shaken the German faith in totalitarian collectivism. Indeed, the social chaos now obtain-

ing in Germany seems likely to provide a favorable soil for the continued growth of collectivism. The material needs of Germany are now so great and urgent that any appeal to the moral and spiritual needs of man is likely to be dismissed as superfluous by many young Germans who have been conditioned by Nazi materialism. Against such materialism German Catholicism is the main bulwark.

There is a popular belief in this country that Catholics tend to be Fascist-minded and that German Catholics are, in addition, militaristic. Articles by Ilya Ehrenburg on German bishops are accepted as plain, un-garnished, factual records. When Lord Vansittart chooses to depict Count von Galen as an exponent of Prussian militarism, he is discreetly applauded by the British emigre "Pinks" to whom the name Vansittart is otherwise anathema. It would, of course, be foolish to deny that any German Catholics have come under the spell of National Socialism. For all its borrowings from Russian Communism, it is a German movement and, as such, bound to make some appeal to all Germans.

In 1933 few Germans realized the true nature or imagined the later de-

\* 114 Mount St., London, W. 1, England, May-June, 1945

velopment of National Socialism. German conservatives, for instance, did not immediately discern in Hitler's movement the revolution of nihilism, the analysis of which was only later supplied by Rauschnig, himself a typical Protestant conservative despite his connection with the Party. Many sincerely believed that Hitler embodied a movement of national reform and regeneration from which no good German should withhold his support. Not a few German Protestants, accepting Hitler's repeated assurances that he stood for positive Christianity, beheld in National Socialism a unique opportunity for the Lutheran Church to regain her hold, not indeed over the masses, but at least over the educated middle class. When S. A. men, acting on a Party directive, asked to be married in church, many Lutheran pastors imagined that they were witnessing the mass-conversion of paganized Germany.

#### GERMAN LIBERALS

German liberals, never democratic in the Western sense of the word and strongly imbued with the Bismarckian worship of force, hoped that Hitler would restore to Germany her economic strength and open up to German industry great markets in the Balkans and Ukraine. For this they were prepared to forego what liberal ideals they still possessed. The German Socialists, of whose underground

resistance so much had been expected in Britain, also settled down to a life of some prosperity in the Third Reich. It is true that many remained faithful to their democratic ideals and were sent in their thousands to concentration camps, but the millions of unemployed for whom Hitler's rearmament policy found steady and well paid work, naturally preferred this to idleness on a very scanty dole under a democratic regime.

For those German Socialists who believed in planning along national lines, the great building and industrial schemes of the Nazis must have been a truly exhilarating phenomenon. The dissolution of the trade unions, or rather their reconstitution in the Labor Front under the "genial" leadership of Ley, in no wise meant that the workers' interests were completely neglected in the Third Reich. British labor regarded the prohibition of strikes in Germany as conclusive proof that the German workers were foully oppressed. But in a national emergency British labor also accepted this prohibition and did not feel unduly oppressed.

In retrospect, Catholic approval of certain points in the National Socialist program as presented in 1933 must appear purblind. But the restoration of the family, the strengthening of the peasantry, social justice for the worker, the suppression of immoral literature, and the solemn promise to respect and encourage positive Chris-

tianity and to enter into close relations with the Vatican are not points calculated to alienate Catholic sympathy. It is true that clear-sighted German Catholics paid more attention to Nazi actions than to Nazi promises. They remembered that in 1932 Catholics in the Diocese of Mainz who joined the Nazi Party had been threatened with excommunication. But in 1933 this ban was lifted and the word went around among Catholics that they should join the S. A. and Christianize the Nazi movement from within. It was discovered that the Center Party had been a great mistake and had segregated German Catholics from their countrymen. It was believed that just as in 1919 the German Catholics, by collaborating with the Social Democrats had forced them to modify their revolutionary program, so, too, in 1933 the Catholics would exercise a moderating influence on the Nazis.

The conclusion of the *Reichskonkordat* in July, 1933, was also meant by the Nazis to dissipate fears of religious persecution. In a memorable meeting at Maria Laach, Franz von Papen, with the influential support of Abbot Herwegen, appealed to the Catholic intelligentsia for collaboration with Hitler. To show their patriotic good will, many German Catholics at first did more to identify themselves with National Socialism than the Nazis had ever expected. Some of the most distinguished Ger-

man theologians were tireless in their efforts to bring about a more positive attitude towards Hitler among the clergy and the laity. They were able to point out that Bishop Berning of Osnabruck had become a member of Goering's Prussian Council of State and that he had officially inspected a concentration camp, thus appearing to justify the existence of this novel institution.

It is not easy to appreciate the reluctance of many fervent German Catholics to draw the logical conclusion from the Nazi persecution of the Church. But many regarded it as merely the first revolutionary phase which would gradually give way to greater tolerance. They were prepared to accept the suppression of what they now considered non-essential Catholic associations as their particular sacrifice on the altar of national unity. Once Hitler had achieved his aim of annulling the Treaty of Versailles, they believed that his persecution of the Church, which was always represented as part of his policy to restore national unity, would come to an end. Superficial and misleading comparisons with Bismarck's liquidation of the *Kulturkampf* legislation were assiduously propagated in some Catholic circles. All that Hitler required, so these political theologians asserted, was that German Catholicism should slough its inessential Latin skin and become outwardly German. A German liturgy

would probably satisfy the Führer, they said, but failure to accommodate Catholicism, at least externally, to National Socialism would lead to the extinction of the Church in the Third Reich.

#### CLERGY AND YOUTH

In the late 1930's the situation was not unlike that which obtained in the 18th century, when rationalism flourished among the prelates at the courts of the ecclesiastical German princes, but found little foothold among the parish clergy and their flocks. Up to the outbreak of war National Socialism had been unable to gain a moral hold over the parish clergy and serious lay Catholics. Many of the weaker brethren had, it is true, fallen away or had succumbed to an ignoble compromise, but the Church was steadily adapting itself to the new conditions. Despite the Hitler Youth, she had by no means lost her hold over the rising generation. The excellent Catholic formation of a large percentage of German Catholic prisoners of war between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five is proof of this important fact.

After the publication of *Mit Brennender Sorge* in 1937, in which Pius XI had spoken of "a war of extermination" against Catholicism in the Third Reich, no German Catholic could reasonably cherish illusions about the real aims of National Socialism. Clear-sighted Catholics also

realized that if Hitler were victorious in his war, there would be no considerations of foreign policy to hold him back from the total elimination of Catholicism in Germany. But many Germans tried, quite naturally, to smother this painful thought, especially in 1940, when Hitler appeared to have won the war. When, however, Hitler launched his attack upon Russia in 1941 and proclaimed a crusade against Bolshevism, the German Bishops did break their eloquent silence. They gave German Catholics no encouragement to identify themselves with Hitler's holy war. Some few Catholic military chaplains preached the crusade to Catholic soldiers on the Eastern Front, but this appears to have been resented and rejected by most soldiers, who were well aware that they were fighting a war of aggression against Russia. The Catholics in Hitler's armies, moreover, discovered that the Russians are still deeply religious and by no means the Godless people as represented by Nazi propaganda. What is more, they experienced much kindness from the Russian civil population whose land they had overrun and devastated, kindness which altogether belied the Nazi picture of sub-human Bolsheviks.

The silence of the German Bishops has been interpreted by some as connivance at Hitler's aggression. This interpretation will scarcely bear confrontation with the pastorals uttered

singly or jointly by the German Bishops during the war. It is an interpretation that every Nazi leader would indignantly reject. The studied silence of the German Hierarchy throughout the summer and autumn of 1940, when to most Continentals it seemed certain that Hitler had won the war, scarcely lends itself to such an interpretation. During these months the German propaganda repeatedly put out reports that the German Bishops would meet in Fulda and from the tomb of St. Boniface send the Führer a telegram of congratulations on his great victory over the Allies. No such telegram was forthcoming! At the moment when Hitler's sweeping advance into Russia seemed to portend a rapid victory over Bolshevism, the Bishops still withheld their moral support from the German Government. When Hitler's prestige had reached its zenith, the Bishop of Munster, in a series of sermons, denounced the Gestapo and its murderous violation of human rights. His denunciation was followed by a joint Pastoral of the Hierarchy on Passion Sunday, 1942, when the rights of man were clearly set forth and boldly vindicated. In this memorable document the German Bishops declared:

We wish particularly to stress that we are not only standing up for religious and ecclesiastical rights, but also for the ordinary rights of mankind. Without them the whole of Western civilization must collapse.

1) Everyone has the natural right of personal freedom. We German Bishops protest against any disregard of personal freedom. We demand a legal examination of all punitive measures and the release of all those who, without evidence, have been robbed of their freedom.

2) Everyone has the natural right to life. We German Bishops will not cease to protest against the killing of innocent people.

3) Everyone has the natural right to the possession and use of justly acquired property. We German Bishops protest against injury to the natural right of property and demand the return of everything wrongfully seized.

4) Everyone has the natural right to the protection of his honor against lies and slander. We Bishops protest against all departures from truth and justice, and demand effective protection for all citizens.

As this and other pastorals show, the Catholic Bishops of Germany have made themselves the champions and the mouthpiece of all the men of good will who under the Nazi regime were prevented by force from defending their elemental rights as human beings. In his Advent Pastoral of 1942, the Bishop of Berlin, Konrad Graf von Preysing, expressly defended the rights of men of other nations and races. He also declared that the rights of the individual with his immortal soul and eternal destiny cannot be absorbed by the State or Nation.

Courage was needed to make these statements at an hour when Germany with her armies on the Atlantic Coast,

in North Africa and on the Volga, seemed to have attained a military might unparalleled in history. The German Bishops went further and intrepidly warned the Government and the people that if a nation allowed justice and human rights to be trampled underfoot, no military victories, however glorious, could stave off its ruin and destruction. These episcopal warnings were uttered almost a year before the defeat of Stalingrad brought home to the German public the impossibility of gaining final victory.

During the last two years of the European war, the Bishops have in almost every pastoral reiterated this warning and made the Catholics, at least, aware that defeat and downfall were impending as a Divine judgment. Thus Archbishop Groeber of Freiburg writes in his Christmas Pastoral, 1942, i.e., before the catastrophe of Stalingrad was realized: "All that take the sword shall perish with the sword. This is true of the wantonly declared and unjust war, through which whole nations have already vanished from the earth." The allusion to the Nazis was obvious to every German reader.

The charge has been made that Bishop von Galen and the other German Bishops have spoken only in defense of German Catholics and that the plight of Catholics in German-occupied countries have left the German Bishops indifferent. This charge

is false. In the Passion Sunday Pastoral of 1942, in Bishop Preysing's Advent Pastoral, 1942, in the memorandum addressed by the German Hierarchy to the Nazi Government in December, 1942, the rights not only of German Catholics, not only of Catholics in general, but also of all men of all races are courageously defended. In the memorial to the Government, the Bishops refer to "notorious occurrences" and to the "ruthless indifference of the officers of the Party" in Alsace-Lorraine, Luxembourg, Poland and Yugoslavia. They point out that "around Germany, in all the occupied countries, a rampart of bitterness and enmity is being erected."

#### BISHOPS TRUE PROPHETS

The misfortunes that have overtaken Germany since 1942 have shown the German Bishops to be true prophets, and their moral authority among Germans of all creeds is very high. From Nazi reports and from secret directives to higher Nazi officials, it is clear that the Party considered Catholicism as its most dangerous and steadfast opponent. The Nazis admit that during the last three years the Church has greatly strengthened its hold over the German people at the expense of the Party. This has been possible despite the Nazi attempt to cause the Church in Germany to die of inanition by conscripting for active service at the front

most parish priests under forty and all church students over seventeen.

It is the supranational character of Catholicism that makes it impossible for the Church and the Party to exist side by side. Throughout the war, the German Bishops have repeatedly appealed not only to the commands of the Church, but also to the Natural Law, which is binding for all men. They have steadfastly condemned the nationalist materialism of the Nazis, which declares all things permissible that benefit the German nation. In 1942 the Bishops declared: "A people that presumes to be the only and exclusive arbiter of morality, and goes to the length of sanctifying whatever means it adopts for its terrestrial purposes, must perish through its own blasphemy." In the following year they condemned "all who seek to set up hatred instead of love, force instead of justice, expediency instead of morality, as the prime laws of mankind."

The Party knew from such episcopal declarations that there could be no question of the Church in Germany compromising with National Socialism. This was equally evident to all serious German Catholics. The question arises: Why did not the German Bishops order the Faithful to cease fighting? This question is usually raised by non-Catholics who would violently protest against the "interference" of Catholic Bishops in British military affairs. Such an order

would have imposed an intolerable conflict of conscience on German Catholics, many of whom, cut off from the outside world, and subjected to ceaseless propaganda, believed that the war had developed in such a way that it was their duty to fight on to defend their country against the worst consequences of defeat. To the very last the Germans hoped and fought for a negotiated peace. Only lack of imagination can make it possible to believe that any nation would, before being decisively defeated, deliberately bring about the downfall of the country by some kind of revolt. History provides few precedents. In any case, the failure of the Generals' *Putsch* in July, 1944, shows how difficult it would have been for German Catholics to do what some Christians in this country expected of them. Can the German Bishops really be condemned for uttering words of consolation and encouragement to German Catholic soldiers, as when, for instance, in the Pastoral just quoted, they speak of "our soldiers who in an heroic struggle are making innumerable sacrifices to protect the Homeland and to preserve it from inestimable disaster"?

Such statements have certainly not been taken by the Party as indicating support for its aims. This is clear from a secret document issued last year to the senior members of the Party. It contains a revealing survey of the Vatican's world policy as seen by an intelligent Nazi. This shrewd assess-



ment of the aims and influence of the Church in the various countries of the world regrets that the war broke out before the Party had had time to settle the religious question in Germany, *i.e.*, to eliminate the Church entirely. The requirements of the war, declares the author, have prevented the Party from carrying its religious policy to its proper conclusion.

The Church, on the other hand, asserts this Nazi authority on Papal diplomacy, has seized the opportunity offered by the upheaval of the war to start a campaign for the restoration of a Catholic Europe. It is in the Reich itself, where Catholic foreign workers from all countries of Europe have been brought together, that the Vatican finds the most favorable soil for establishing the foundation of its New Order. According to the author, every Catholic presbytery has been turned into a cell or *point d'appui* (*Stützpunkt*) of the Vatican's policy. Here the Catholic foreign workers congregate and receive their instructions. The author of the report mentions in this connection a pedagogic device of the German clergy. In their sermons they praise the foreign workers as model Catholics and recommend their German flock to follow the pious example set by the foreigners. The Nazi expert unwittingly gives an encouraging picture of Catholic solidarity under particularly trying circumstances.

Another Nazi report, dealing with

the failure of the Party to make any headway among Catholics in southwest Germany, admits that the use of "V1" against Britain failed to raise the morale in the area under question. Catholic women, instead of reacting to the new bombardment of London with malicious satisfaction (*Schadenfreude*), as the Party expected, usually exclaimed: "The poor women and children have to suffer again." This remark gives some indication of the deep moral cleavage which Anglo-American air-raids have failed to bridge over.

#### COLLABORATION OF BISHOPS

This cleavage goes far to explain the readiness of the Church authorities to collaborate with the Allied Military Government in Germany. The interviews given by various German bishops to Allied correspondents suggests that the German Hierarchy is determined to do what it can to help the Allies eradicate National Socialism. This policy appears to have been adopted by the German Bishops before the Allies landed in Europe and is not, as some correspondents suggest, mere opportunism. The 1944 Lenten Pastorals of the German Hierarchy reveal a degree of bitterness against the Nazi regime that makes their collaboration with the Allies anything but surprising.

The Archbishop of Freiburg, condemning the Nazi doctrine that there is no life after death apart from some



sort of survival in the continued existence of the nation, declares that life after death is necessary if only for the sake of justice. Archbishop Groeter then goes on to say in pointed allusion to the Führer: "A man who in an unjust war has driven hundreds of thousands to their death and lets loose a flood of misery over the earth, then quietly sleeps the eternal sleep in his grave or urn. There are people who in the end have recourse to suicide, whilst their victims have to go on starving and suffering." Bishop Galen of Münster, in his Lenten Pastoral, explains the sufferings of the Germans as God's answer to the challenge of the Nazi materialists. He writes: "Today God is replying to this challenge. On all sides are smoking ruins and devastation. Do you not see how false your calculations are, if they make no allowance for God?" Bishop Galen's question could not but recall to every German Hitler's boast at the beginning of the war: *Ich habe alles einkalküliert* (I have allowed for everything).

The Pastoral Letters and other statements uttered by the German Bishops between 1939 and 1945 deserve careful study. It is to be hoped that the Church authorities will soon make them accessible, so that the work of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich may be more justly assessed. Such a publication would show how the Church has helped to preserve in Nazi Germany the elementary stand-

ards of Christian morality and European civilization. The Catholic Hierarchy alone has been in a position to proclaim the fundamental moral laws and to denounce the injustice and immorality of the Nazi regime. The German Bishops have voiced protests that no other German could utter, and for this reason they have spoken not only for Catholics, not only for Christians, not only for Jews, but also for all those men of good will to whom Pius XII, in his Christmas Allocution of 1943, appealed for co-operation in reconstructing a just order of peace and tranquility.

It cannot be said that the Foreign Office or even educated Catholics in this country attach overmuch importance to German Catholicism. Rightly to understand what the Church in Germany has achieved and saved—and saved for Europe—from the moral and social cataclysm which is National Socialism, one must know something of the great social and political tradition of German Catholicism. German thought received in Britain, particularly in British universities, has for the last century been un-Christian, if not indeed anti-Christian: Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche and Spengler represent German thought here. British scholars still appear to believe what German liberal professors sneeringly asserted in 1890, at the end of the *Kulturkampf*: *Catholica non leguntur*.

An Englishman may well be famil-

iar with the ideas of Troeltsch, Weber, Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig and Mannheim. But he will be a rare bird if he is familiar with the thought of Catholic sociologists like Hitzte, Pesch, Nell-Breuning, August Pieper or Franz Schnabel. One may hope that the steadfast witness of the German Bishops to human dignity and to the rights of man may cause some of our humanitarians to study the political and social achievements of German Catholics during the last century. If more were known of these, the British view of Germany today would perhaps be less pessimistic.

#### CHURCH ESCAPED NAZI CONTROL

That the Catholic Church was the only organization in the Third Reich to escape the control of the Nazis is a fact of great *political* importance. It has been computed that of the thirty million Catholics in Germany and Austria, some 40 per cent still practise their religion. That means that there are at least twelve million men and women on whom the Nazis have been unable to exert any lasting moral influence. This fact is not surprising in view of the history and structure of German Catholicism. From 1815 until the liquidation of the *Kulturkampf* legislation in the 1880's, German Catholics had to contend with *Staatskirchentum* in its various, and often most vicious, forms. It was not until 1848 that the German Bishops from the German States

were allowed to meet together in a national conference. So jealously did the bureaucratic Governments, conceiving the Church as but a function of the State, watch over a society whose membership extended beyond the frontiers of the State.

The first open conflict between the Catholic Church and Prussia broke out over the question of mixed marriages. In 1837, the Archbishop of Cologne was arrested by a squad of Prussian soldiers for refusing to obey instructions from the Berlin Government in a purely spiritual matter. This act of violence against a Prince of the Church started a Catholic mass movement in Germany from which the Center Party developed. The *Kulturkampf*, which followed a generation later, is commonly regarded as an attack by Bismarck against political Catholicism, and not against the Church as such. This is a superficial view. Bismarck may well have started the *Kulturkampf* for political reasons, but the ideological onslaught was waged by the National Liberals, who in 1866 forswore their liberal ideals to obtain political power. Like the National Socialists, they hated Catholicism because its teaching and its ethic, that is to say its *Kultur*, were supranational. Hence their desire to impose on all church students a *Kultur-examen*.

The German historian Ziekursch, himself a Liberal, makes the following ironic comment on this attempt to im-

pose national blinkers on Catholic priests: "The tragi-comic reason for this law was the belief that an examination would force future priests to study these subjects (German philosophy, German history and German literature) and thus arouse their enthusiasm for German idealistic philosophy, German classical literature and our nationalist historians."<sup>1</sup> The tragedy to which Ziekursch refers, is that modern German culture, as expressed in German idealistic philosophy, in the literature of the classical period and in the Prussian school of history, is largely un-Christian in character.

The National Liberals who drew their political ideas mainly from Hegel, believed in the unlimited sovereignty of the State and were fiercely opposed to a supranational Church. In the Center Party they saw a political movement of a federalist character which ran counter to their own unitarian aims. It is worth while recalling what Bluntschli, a Prussianized Swiss and the accepted theorist of the National Liberals (and not unknown in Oxford), writes of the Catholic party. Here are a few extracts taken from the third volume of his *Lehre vom modernen Staat*, which blandly bears the title *Politik als Wissenschaft*.<sup>2</sup>

The Ultramontane party is distinguished from other parties in that its spiritual principle is outside the State

and essentially independent of the State. The Ultramontane idea is in irreconcilable contradiction to the whole existence and tendency of the modern State. Nations of independent spirit would rather give up Christianity and do away with the Catholic Church within their territories than sacrifice the modern State and civilization. Ultramontanism has shown little regard for the laws and duties of morality and humanitarianism. Ultramontanism is the greatest hindrance to German unity and the happy development of the German spirit (*die froehliche Entfaltung des deutschen Geistes*). The German nation had and still has the historic mission of freeing the world from the domination of Rome. The Ultramontane Party is working against the vital mission of the German nation.

Such were the ideas of the *Kulturkampf*. They were propagated by the National Liberals and later developed and put into practice by Goebbels and Rosenberg.

The *Kulturkampf* from which German Catholicism emerged bruised and scarred, but also steeled and strengthened, indicated the dangers threatening the Church in the modern nationalistic State. It left the German Catholics with a deep-seated distrust of the Hohenzollern Empire and the determination to preserve whatever liberty and independence still remained to the Federal States. It is not surprising that, after the collapse of Bismarck's creation in 1918, the Catholic Center combined with the Social-

<sup>1</sup> *Politische Geschichte des neuen deutschen Kaiserreiches*, Vol. 2, 1927. Pp. 245-246.

<sup>2</sup> Stuttgart, 1876. Pp. 520-530.

ists and the Democrats to lay the foundations of the Weimar Republic. In the Weimar Republic Catholicism flourished. Political leaders like Marx, Wirth and Erzberger showed that it is possible for the Catholic party to work together with Socialists without sacrificing Catholic principles. It is regrettable that under the stress of economic crisis and the decay of the middle-class parties, Brüning was forced to abandon democratic rule to govern by means of a presidential dictatorship. This interlude should not allow the democratic and federal tradition of German Catholicism to be forgotten.

#### DESERVING OF RECOGNITION

German Socialists appear to have abandoned their anti-clerical attitude and seem eager to cooperate with Catholics to build up a democratic state. But whatever shape postwar Germany may take, whether it remains a single political unit or develops into a group of federal states, it is certain that German Catholics with their long experience both in central government and in local administration will play an important part. Both Pius XII and the German Bishops have made it clear in recent utterances that they stand for liberty, which today can be achieved only

through democratic forms of government. The temptation to seek their political and economic salvation along collectivist lines will be great for all Germans, especially with part of their country occupied by Russians, and most probably subjected to exclusively Russian propaganda.

It is to be hoped that in the Anglo-American zones of occupation full freedom will be restored to Catholicism, freedom not only to preach and teach within the churches but also to restore and develop, as postwar conditions may require, those political and social organizations which made German Catholicism exemplary before 1933. The record of the Church in Germany during the last six years, the courageous witness given by the German Bishops to Christian and Western European ideals of human dignity and liberty, the devoted work of the German clergy among their own flocks and the many foreign Catholics deported to the Third Reich, the success of the Catholic laity in so largely preserving their children from the moral perversion of National Socialism; these are the things that deserve recognition and publicity in Allied countries, if a true picture of Germany is to be formed and a wise policy to be framed for the restoration of the Germans to the comity of European nations.

## *Freedom of the Press*

REV. RALPH GORMAN, C.P.

*Reprinted from THE SIGN\**

UNIVERSAL freedom of the press is a ticklish question and we can hope for no Utopia in this regard in the postwar world. Unless some progress is made, however, by the postwar organization to guarantee freedom to gather and distribute information all over the world, we shall have left in the hands of present and future dictators a weapon of almost unlimited potentialities for threatening the peace.

Absolute control of the printed word was the most powerful instrument of the totalitarians for obtaining domination over their nationals and for preparing the present world catastrophe.

Take the case of the Japanese. The more educated know better, but the rank and file among them are convinced that we are a nation of savages, that we take a sadistic pleasure in torturing and killing. Suicides among Japanese soldiers might be explained by their perverted code of military honor, but not the suicides of civilians at the approach of American troops. The conviction that they will be tortured and killed drives parents to slaughter their own children and then kill themselves.

Our soldiers and correspondents

have been taken aback by the attitude of the German people. Far from feeling any war guilt, most of them are convinced that they have been fighting for a just cause. To them, Germany took up arms only because she was threatened by her neighbors.

The British and Americans, they think, have done them a terrible wrong in destroying their towns and cities and surely will help to rebuild them. Occupation of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France was a temporary war measure. Slave labor in the Reich was a just contribution these people were making toward Germany's heroic task of attempting to save Europe from Bolshevism.

As for the atrocities the Nazis have committed on conquered peoples—either they have never heard of them or they consider such stories to be Allied propaganda.

And it must be remembered that this propaganda in both Japan and Germany was not merely a war measure—except in so far as these countries had been preparing for war long before the outbreak of hostilities.

Propaganda of this type through the distortion and suppression of news is not confined to our enemies. It has

\* Monastery Pl., Union City, N. J., May, 1945

always been the stock in trade of Soviet Russia.

The ordinary Russian, like every other ordinary person, believes what he reads in his paper. And there he reads, for instance, that the standard of living of British and American workers is lower than his own and that they are the slaves of their capitalist employers. He believes that except for some lend-lease help and a few minor battles in North Africa and Western Europe, the Red Army has borne the entire brunt of the war.

#### PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING

The reader of Russian papers thinks that Britain attempted to make a separate peace, that some of our outstanding papers are protecting Hitler, that former Ambassador William C. Bullitt is a spy, and that Wendell Willkie was the obedient henchman of the Fascist adventurers in Europe.

He is assured in season and out of season by the most prominent Soviet publications that the Vatican is anti-

democratic, supported Fascism, is now trying to save the German Army and to absolve Nazi Germany from all responsibility for her crimes; that the Pope is the mouthpiece of Germany and ex-Chancellor Bruening is the Fuehrer of the German Catholics.

Soviet Russia is the worst but not the only example of the suppression and distortion of news among members of the United Nations. Others are guilty in varying degrees.

Universal freedom of the press is a matter which should be placed high on the United Nations' agenda. This freedom is a goal which will not be reached easily nor in the immediate future, but the first steps should be taken immediately.

Peace cannot be built on a foundation of lying and deliberate deceit on a national and international scale. It can be built only on that toleration and good will which have their origin in mutual understanding and respect among nations.



### *Washington Parish*

The oldest Catholic Church in the nation's capital—Holy Trinity Church, Georgetown—opened its 150th anniversary celebration, Nov. 4, with the Apostolic Delegate pontificating at the Jubilee Mass. Father Ignatius Neale, its first pastor, was appointed in 1790, and the original church, dedicated in 1795, is still standing and in use as a convent by the parish school Sisters. The present church was built in 1849.—*The CATHOLIC NEWS, New York, N. Y., Nov. 11, 1945.*

# Public Ownership or Collectivism

Reprinted from the Press Bulletin of the Central Verein\*

A CERTAIN passage in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* should inform Catholics that the British Labor Party's intention to deliver up to the State the Bank of England, the coal mines and railways can be undertaken without reference to the doctrines of Karl Marx. Pius XI states, in one chapter of this document: "It is rightly contended that certain forms of property must be reserved to the State, since they carry with them an opportunity of domination too great to be left to private individuals without injury to the community at large."

The late Pope did not name the properties he had in mind but, continuing, he declares: "Just demands and desires of this kind contain nothing opposed to Christian truth, nor are they in any sense peculiar to Socialism." This is a fact lost sight of quite generally, because the State of the nineteenth century was not supposed to engage in economic endeavor of any kind, in order that the field should be left wide open to private enterprise. Therefore, both the timber and mineral resources of our country were delivered over to private enterprisers, with the result that both were ruthlessly exploited by capital. And while all European countries inaugu-

rated new laws, intended to protect water power, as soon as its use for the production of electric current became practical, we hesitated and permitted private capital to preempt valuable rights at great cost to the people. Theodore Roosevelt fought for retention of water power by the State and in one case vetoed a bill adopted by Congress intended to grant a corporation unrestricted water rights on a Missouri river. His successor in office, William H. Taft, signed the bill, after its passage by a new Congress.

## THE COMMON GOOD

Well reasoned demands and desires of the kind under consideration are not, as Pius XI points out in *Quadragesimo Anno* "opposed to Christian truth, nor are they in any sense peculiar to Socialism." Those, therefore, who have no ulterior motives in mind, who are not animated by the intention of bringing about ultimately collective ownership of the means of production, have, as the Pope referred to states, "no reason for becoming Socialists." Nor should every measure intended to entrust to the State or a community certain properties be branded "socialistic." The criterion must be: Is public ownership of this particular property indispensable; is

\* 3835 Westminster Pl., St. Louis 8, Mo., Sept. 13, 1945

it demanded in the interest of the common good; is it the only possible means to attain the desired end?

Hence, every case must be judged on its merits and in accordance with the peculiar nature of the problem at hand. Venice, one of the most populous cities of Europe in the days of her glory, monopolized the grain trade for fear that private enterprisers might not at all times provide the community with a sufficient quantity of grain, flour and bread. German cities attempted to prevent a shortage of this important food by the erection of municipal granaries. The Roman States under the Popes had the Anona, a public institution intended to provide the people with grain at a fixed price. There was also an Anona for oil. Both were abolished by the distinguished Cardinal Consalvi toward the end of the eighteenth century. The fact that the State grain monopoly had year after year resulted in a heavy deficit lent weight to the theory of the new school of economic thought, that the mercantilistic doctrine, which favored State enterprises of an economic nature, was false and injurious. As so often in the history of human affairs, men at that time went from one extreme to the other. It is this very danger we are facing today.

What the people in general want is State Reform; urged on by radical elements and wartime needs, all countries of the old western world, among them our own, are drifting toward

State Socialism. The danger of the mass being misled by blind leaders is evident, because, as Charles Devas wrote years ago, "a great part of the immediate measures proposed by Fabian socialists are just the same (or seem just the same) as what others propose on the ground of restoring the Christian character of society, uniting riches with responsibility, and insuring the fair treatment of the poorer classes."

#### MUST KNOW OUR GOAL

The question, therefore, arises, as this Catholic economist pointed out over forty years ago, "how are we to distinguish between the State Socialism that we ought to repulse, and the humane and reasonable legislation that we ought to welcome." It will not always be easy to find the answer in a particular case. The Roman emperors made the mistake, when faced by the necessity of inaugurating reforms, of introducing State Socialism; in medieval days, when men relied so largely on self-help and mutual help, a right medium was observed. Public authority undertook to do what individual enterprise could not perform sufficiently well, considering the demands of the common good. What the communes and States undertook was not inaugurated with the thought in mind eventually to put all the means of production in the hands of local or central Government. It is collectivism that all too many of those now call-



ing for municipal or public ownership of certain enterprises have in mind. There lies the danger.

From State socialism to Collectivism may be but one step, unless men are clear in their minds from the be-

ginning regarding the purpose they are seeking to attain when calling for Government ownership of any class of property. The danger is not incapable, but we must clearly know our goal.



### *Private Collectivism*

The development of combinations in business which are able to dominate the markets in which they sell their goods and in which they buy their labor and their materials must lead irresistibly to some form of state collectivism. So much power will never for long be allowed to rest in private hands, and those who do not wish to take the road to the politically administered economy of socialism must be prepared to take the steps back toward the restoration of the market economy of private competitive enterprise.—*Walter Lippmann.*



### *Free Enterprise*

But no one who will honestly look at the past and present record of America can doubt that the majority of businessmen are, in fact, afraid of competition, just as they are afraid of really free enterprise.

There is a constant fear that there won't be enough purchasing power to go around, that if we really "let ourselves go," with all our skill and ingenuity, with all the technical efficiency we have developed, there would be general over-production, flooding of the markets, and general break-down.—*Edwin G. Nourse, of the Brookings Institution.*

# How to Organize An Evidence Guild

PAUL DEARING

ORGANIZING a Catholic Evidence Guild is a comparatively simple step but there are a few procedures which must be observed. With the thought in mind that this article may fall into the hands of some zealous Catholic layman and inspire him to abandon the arm-chair for the outdoor platform, the following pointers, it is hoped, may serve as a guide to help him establish a Catholic Evidence Guild in his city.

Today there are more than 200 licensed speakers in about fifteen Catholic Evidence Guilds in the United States. These people—laymen, laywomen, seminarians and religious—speak from the Guild platform in public parks, on street corners, in market places. In plain and simple words they explain the doctrines and practices of the Church. It is a fascinating apostolate, and often lots of fun.

Prime factor in forming a Guild is to find a priest in the diocese who is enthusiastic about the work and who has the time to give instructions at an hour-and-a-half meeting, one night a week. He will be the Spiritual Director and immediate representative of the Bishop, responsible to him for all the activities of the Guild.

Three or four interested laymen

*Mr. Dearing, late President of the National Catholic Evidence Guild, was killed in the Empire State plane crash, July 28, 1945. Reprinted from CATHOLIC CAMPAIGNERS FOR CHRIST REVIEW.\**

are sufficient to begin with, but they must have zeal, humility, initiative and courage. Los Angeles, Denver, Detroit, Cleveland, Dallas, Omaha, St. Louis, Rochester and other American cities where no Guild now operates, should be able to produce five or six such laymen with ease. Still, even three sincere and conscientious laymen are enough to start, and to carry on with for some time. New speakers come in very slowly.

The Bishop of the diocese is the fountainhead of the authority by which a layman speaks in public and the Guild operates solely through his permission. The Bishop usually designates a board of two or three priests of his diocese to assist the moderator in passing on the fitness of outdoor speakers and their ability to answer the ordinary questions received at street meetings.

First step in the organization of a Guild is to apply to the Bishop for his approval. Chances are he will be more than delighted, and may even offer to assist you.

\* Waterbury, Conn., Fall, 1945

The spiritual life of the Guildsmen is the very substratum of his success. Time spent in meditation before the Blessed Sacrament should equal the time spent on the rostrum. Holy Communion weekly is a minimum, as a rule. Something about the Guild which usually sets it off from other organizations is that no dues are charged and money is kept as foreign to the group as possible. Actually, the only expense will be the building of a speaker's stand. This may cost in the neighborhood of \$25.00 which may best be raised by passing the hat. For a meeting place, get a down-town pastor to let you use a room in the rectory or parochial school.

The custom at the weekly meeting is to have a 30-minute lecture by the moderator on one of the subjects in the indispensable guild "Bible," which is the *Catholic Evidence Training Outlines*, published by Sheed & Ward, 63 Fifth Avenue, New York, and obtainable through any Catholic bookshop. The lecture is followed by fifteen minutes of "heckling" and questions. Then one or two speakers give a 5 to 10 minute practice talk, after which he is questioned or "heckled" by those at the meeting. Classes should be short and snappy. Begin at 8 and finish at 9:30 P. M. at the latest. Transact any business after the regular meeting. The simpler the organization and fewer the business meetings the better.

The reason three, four, or five laymen are sufficient is that parish priests

will gladly lend a helping hand to serve as chairmen at the outdoor "pitches," speaking on such topics as Confession, Who is the Pope?, the Sacramental System, and The Mass, while laymen speak at first on simpler subjects: the Bible in the Church, Marks of the Church, Devotion to Our Lady and Sacramentals.

#### ADDITIONAL POINTERS

Some additional pointers: (1) In the weekly lectures, don't try to exhaust one doctrine before going on to the next; (2) have each layman choose one subject, study it until he knows it well enough to explain it in few and plain words, to others; (3) speakers should be informal, never oratorical. (Mother Goose language is preferred, and remember everybody likes illustrations and examples. Questions from the street audiences are what you want); (4) never speak longer than 15 minutes and when speaking on the street accept questions only on the subject of the talk; (5) leave the general question period at the end of the outdoor pitch for the priest—chairman of the meeting.

The "Guild technique" of street teaching is to show a doctrine or practice in operation and get the man-in-the-street to see how reasonable it is. Then he wants it. Simply state the doctrine to the crowd and show how good it is. Then ask for questions. Never prove anything. People aren't interested in proofs, they're interested

in things that can be made attractive to them. For example: Why prove the existence of God to a street audience when they don't know who or what God is? Better to tell them why God is interested in them, stressing what it will mean to them to know more about their Creator.

Guild practice is to answer all questions directly and with courtesy, making every effort to show you are interested in the questioner and want to help him. Never argue with him. Never tell him he is wrong. Never win an argument. Tell the person who poses a difficulty how far the Church agrees with what he believes, then proceed to show him where the Church differs and tell him why.

Normally, eight months of weekly meetings is a reasonable time of study and practice to prepare zealous lay-

men for street-speaking. With pressure it can be accomplished in even less time. When the day comes to mount the platform for the first time, one will find the experience more interesting and invigorating than can be imagined now. Ordinarily, listeners don't try to "stick" the speaker. But they'll ask such questions as: "How much does it cost to have your sins forgiven in Confession?" and "Why don't your priests get married?"

When a speaker has answered such queries, he finds a solid satisfaction in knowing that though enquirers may not agree with what the Church teaches, they're a lot closer to the truth because they have some idea now what she teaches and why. The seed will have been sown.

A final warning: Guildsmen "teach," they never "preach"!

## THE CATHOLIC MIND

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